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Fred^l W^m Hulcaster:

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BXM

MEMOIRS
OF THE
KINGS OF SPAIN

OF THE
HOUSE OF BOURBON,
FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP V.
TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES III.

1700...TO...1788.

DRAWN FROM ORIGINAL AND UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

BY
WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.
ARCHDEACON OF WILTS, AND RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

SECOND EDITION.

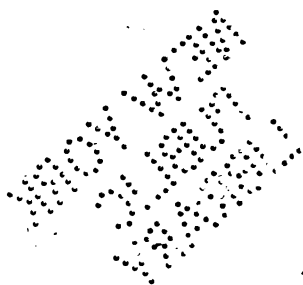
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1815.



Printed by T. C. Hansard, Peterboro' Court, Fleet Street, London.

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MEMOIRS
OF
SPAIN.

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FIRST.

1720—1723.

Philip reluctantly accedes to the Quadruple Alliance—Successful expedition against the moors in Africa—Difficulties with regard to the fulfilment of the Quadruple Alliance—Alliance of Spain with England and France—Negotiations relative to the restoration of Gibraltar—Correspondence on that subject—Double marriages between the families of France and Spain—Increasing difficulties in the negotiation.

IN general, authors imagine that as Alberoni was the sole mover of the war, so he was the only obstacle to the peace, which followed after his dismission. It was, however, on the contrary, a matter of no small difficulty to vanquish the reluctance of Philip to accede to the Quadruple

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Jan. 4, 1720.

Alliance.* In reply to the first application of the states general, he brought forward demands scarcely less exorbitant than those dictated by Alberoni; and he persisted in these demands, though they renewed their instances, and pressed him to accede before the expiration of the second term of three months, declaring that any further delay would compel them to join the allies in commencing hostilities.

The application of the republic proving thus ineffectual, the british and french governments again resumed their negotiations. Sir Luke Schaub, the confidential secretary of earl Stanhope, was sent to Madrid, to co-operate with Scotti, while the regent employed the interference of d'Aubenton. Finally, the fear of losing the reversion of the italian duchies, induced the queen to take a share in these solicitations; and by her powerful influence, the reluctance of her husband was with difficulty vanquished. He accordingly announced his accession to the Quadruple Alliance by a royal decree, declaring that he gave peace to Europe at the expence of his own interests as well as of his own possessions and rights.† This act he

* Even St. Philippe, though prejudiced against Alberoni, cannot resist the proof drawn from the reluctance of Philip, but candidly observes: "The reluctance testified by the king in accepting the peace, shewed that Alberoni had not acted alone, and by his own will, in the past troubles; and that his master had taken his share with some degree of warmth." T. 4, p. 5.

† Ortiz, t. 7, p. 354.


transmitted to the duke of Orleans, in order to throw the negotiation into his hands, and demanded his assistance for the recovery of Gibraltar, if not Minorca, as a recompense doubly due, from the offer of the king of England, and from the opprobrium which he had incurred among his subjects by the sacrifice of his pretensions and dignity.

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In acceding to the Quadruple Alliance, Philip renewed his renunciation of the french crown, and relinquished all claims to the dominions which had been dismembered from the spanish monarchy. He acquiesced also in the transfer of Sicily to the emperor, and of Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king, and promised to evacuate those islands within the term of six months. In return he was acknowledged king of Spain and the Indies. The eventual succession of Tuscany and Parma was entailed on the issue of the queen, on the condition that those duchies should never be united with the crown of Spain; and to secure the possession in failure of issue male to the reigning sovereigns, the fortresses were to be occupied by 6,000 swiss in the pay of the mediating powers. Lastly, the emperor and Philip were bound to a mutual guaranty of their respective possessions.

Delivered by this arrangement from his more immediate embarrassments in Europe, Philip, to

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make amends for his breach of promise to the pope, as well as to flatter his people, directed his attention to Barbary, that darling theatre of spanish enterprise. Ceuta, the Gibraltar of Africa, and one of the keys of the Mediterranean, had withstood desultory, but continual attacks from the moors during a blockade of twenty-six years. For the greater part of that period, 100,000 lives had been sacrificed in vain; but the infidels having recently obtained the assistance of European engineers, their approaches were made with skill and regularity, and in a few weeks produced more effect than in all the preceding attacks. To save so valuable a possession, and extend the spanish empire in Africa, Philip augmented the army raised for the prosecution of the italian war, and gave such activity to his preparations as revived the alarm of the european powers, who had just witnessed the energy which Spain derived from the vigorous hand of Alberoni. Remonstrances were made in vain from all quarters, till the preparations were perfectly matured, when Philip quieted the public apprehensions by announcing his design to vindicate the honour of his arms in Africa.

Towards the close of 1720, a powerful armament, prepared under the direction of Don Joseph Patiño, the active intendant of the marine, sailed from Cadiz, consisting of 16,000

veterans, under the command of the marquis of Lede. He landed in the beginning of November, and on the 15th in the morning, marching against the infidels, forced their intrenched camp, took 33 pieces of artillery, and drove them towards Tetuan and Algiers. He repulsed them in two desperate attacks on the 9th and 21st of December, and advanced against Tetuan, with the intention of extending the spanish dominion along the coast as far as Tuniz.

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The news of these victories equally gratified the nation and the monarch. Philip presented three standards taken from the infidels, to our lady of Atocha; and sent another to the pope as the grateful homage of the catholic king to the head of the church, and as an earnest of further success. He also for the first time attended the celebration of an *auto de fe*, at which in the commencement of his reign he had refused with horror to appear, and witnessed the barbarous ceremony of committing twelve jews and mahometans to the flames.

But either from the difficulty of the enterprise against Tetuan, or, what is still more probable, from the opposition of the british government, which was jealous lest the progress of the spaniards in Africa should straiten the transport of supplies to the garrison of Gibraltar, Philip recalled his victorious troops; and the marquis

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1720—1723.

March 21.

of Lede closed his operations with repairing the works, and reinforcing the garrison of Ceuta. In retaliation for this attack, the moors prepared to pour their predatory hordes on the coast of Andalusia ; but the armament being dispersed by a storm, Spain was happily delivered from the scourge of a new moorish invasion.*

After this short but successful display of spanish enterprise against the natural enemies of the nation, the views of Philip were again directed to the negotiation which he had already commenced with the european powers.


According to appearances, the accession of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance completed the arrangements left imperfect at the peace of Utrecht. But the two sovereigns, for whose reconciliation it had been principally framed, were too much irritated against each other to relinquish their contrary claims without a further struggle ; and it would be difficult to decide whether the emperor or Philip was most dissatisfied with the treaty which had been forced upon them.

Philip, however, performed his part of the agreement, though unwillingly, with good faith and punctuality. For within the stipulated term, he recalled his troops from Sicily, surrendered Sardinia to Victor Amadeus, and nominated the

* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 44—53.—Ortiz, t. 7, lib. 23, c. 8.

count of San Estevan and the marquis of Beretti Landi his plenipotentiaries at the intended congress of Cambray. The emperor, on the contrary, had no sooner secured Sicily, which was the price of his accession, than he endeavoured to prevent the transfer of Tuscany and Parma to a prince of the rival House of Bourbon. Without formally refusing his acquiescence, he encouraged other powers to start various claims, and raise numerous obstacles to the intended cession. The duke of Parma disguised his reluctance to the nomination of a successor during his own life, under the pretence of an unwillingness to admit the imperial jurisdiction in his territories; the pope claimed Parma as a fief of the holy see; the great duke of Tuscany resented the transfer of his duchy to a spanish prince, as a violation of the rights of his sister the electress palatine. Of all these objections the emperor availed himself with consummate address.

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1780—1783.



While the emperor was starting endless objections, and while his ministers were catching at every pretext for prevarication and delay, a new change took place in the disposition of the other powers united by the Quadruple Alliance. Disputes arose between the emperor, England, and Holland, relative to the commerce of the Netherlands; while his reluctance to complete the

CHAP. 31. peace, and his disputes with the king of Eng-
 1720—1723. land as elector of Hanover, extinguished that
 ~~~~~ zeal with which the british cabinet had hitherto  
 espoused his interests. The bourbon courts  
 united to turn this schism to their common  
 advantage. Favoured by the interest of the  
 regent, Philip gained the support of the maritime  
 powers; and with a secrecy and celerity which  
 confounded the court of Vienna, concluded an  
 alliance with France and England, calculated to  
 give effect to his pretensions.

June 13,  
 1721.

The prelude to this arrangement was a separate convention with England. All former treaties were renewed, particularly the two recent conventions, for revoking the explanatory articles in the treaty of Utrecht, and the establishment of the asiento. The effects of individuals seized or confiscated in the late contest were to be mutually restored; and the king of England made a tacit concession to the punctilious spirit of the spanish court by engaging to give back the ships captured by Byng, and to pay the value of those which had been broken up or sold.

This treaty was the preliminary to the defensive alliance with France and England, signed on the same day. The contracting parties guarantied their respective dominions according to the treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and London, confirmed the Quadruple Alliance, and bound them-

selves to give effect to the arrangements which should be made at Cambray for terminating the dispute between the emperor and the king of Spain. An article was also introduced for the protection of the duke of Parma in his rights and possessions, and the maintenance of his dignity. To this treaty the states general were invited to accede.

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But it was easier to arrange this complicated scheme on paper, than to carry it into execution. The emperor, unwilling totally to relinquish the title of king of Spain, insisted that the renunciation of the dismembered provinces made by Philip, should be ratified by the cortes, an assembly which he was well aware no king of Spain would willingly convoke. On the other hand, Philip as strenuously insisted that the renunciation of the emperor should be confirmed by the germanic diet, whose interference was scarcely less offensive to the head of the empire. England and France interposed to vanquish these objections, and at length the mutual exchange of the ratifications took place at London.

Sept. 27,  
1721.

This difficulty was scarcely obviated, before another arose from the formation of a commercial company at Ostend, to trade to the Indies, which had been recently established by the emperor, in resentment for the shackles imposed on him by

Dec. 1722.

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the barrier treaty. Such a design being equally hostile to the interests and views of Philip, and to those of the maritime powers, all joined in opposing it as a direct infraction of the conditions on which the emperor had received the Netherlands.


An additional obstacle to the conclusion of this long pending dispute was derived from the difficulty of satisfying the king of Spain, with regard to the means of securing the eventual succession of Tuscany and Parma; because he insisted on spanish, instead of swiss garrisons, and required a form of investiture which amounted to a virtual emancipation from all feudal dependance on the empire.\*

But the principal source of difficulty was the interminable discussion relative to Gibraltar and Minorca. Philip was too jealous of his honour to submit with patience to the establishment of a foreign dominion on his own shores, and displayed his anxiety to recover these possessions by calling them the *thorns in his feet*. During the negotiations between Spain and the emperor, under the administration of earl Stanhope, George the first had authorised the regent

\* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 84, 94.—History of the House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 8.—State Papers, and other documents, in Rousset and other collections.—Koch's *Traité de Paix*, t. 2, p. 12, 16.

to offer the restoration of Gibraltar, provided Spain would accept the terms of accommodation then proposed. This offer was verbally renewed by earl Stanhope himself, in his mission to Madrid,\* but in vain; and the hostilities which ensued naturally annulled the engagement. However, in the subsequent negotiations, the regent, without express authority from the british court, again tendered this tempting bait, to facilitate an accommodation, and with more effect than before. The Quadruple Alliance was concluded without any public reference to this subject; but, in announcing his accession, Philip demanded the expected recompense, as well in virtue of the promise made by the regent, as of his own private declaration, that he had accepted the treaty solely on that condition.


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Accordingly the regent warmly seconded the demand of Philip at the court of England. From a desire to gratify him, or at least from an apprehension of impeding the negotiation at so critical a period, the king of England sounded the disposition of his ministry, who had recently received an accession of strength by the junction of Townshend, Walpole, and many of the seceding whigs. The proposal was supported by Stanhope; but the consent of his new col-

\* Letter from Mr. Stanhope to Mr. Walpole, Oct. 11, 1725. Walpole Papers.

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leagues to submit the question to the parliament, could not be obtained except on the condition of an equivalent. The attempt was made; and the bare insinuation created such general indignation and alarm, that representations were sent to convince the regent of its total impracticability.

Earl Stanhope, in a letter to sir Luke Schaub, gives an account of these transactions, which shews the embarrassment of the government.

March 28,  
1720.


“ We have made a motion in parliament relative to the restitution of Gibraltar, to pass a bill, for the purpose of leaving to the king the power of disposing of that fortress for the advantage of his subjects. You cannot imagine the ferment which the proposal produced.” The public was roused with indignation, on the simple suspicion that, at the close of a successful war, so unjustly begun by cardinal Alberoni, we should cede that fortress. One circumstance greatly contributed to excite the general indignation, namely, a report insinuated by the opposition, that the king had entered into a formal engagement to restore Gibraltar, which was deemed a sufficient ground to attack the minister. Many libels have been published to alarm the nation, and excite them rather to continue the war, than cede a fortress of such importance. We were accordingly compelled to yield to the torrent, and to adopt the wise reso-

lution of withdrawing the motion; because, if it had been pressed, it would have produced a contrary effect to what is designed, and would perhaps have ended in a bill which might for ever have tied up the king's hands. Such being the real state of this business, you will endeavour to explain to the court of Madrid, that if the king of Spain should ever wish, at some future day, to treat concerning the cession of Gibraltar, the only method of succeeding would be to drop the subject at present. We are much concerned that France should have interfered on this occasion; the extreme eagerness which she testified was of great detriment. Some letters and memorials on that subject seemed even to threaten a rupture. The alarm was indeed so strong, that people began to suspect France was meditating a change of system, and made Gibraltar a pretext to adopt other measures. The little alacrity she discovered in hastening the evacuations,\* her profound silence in regard to her negotiation with Spain, and the extraordinary language held by some persons in high estimation here seemed to confirm those opinions, and was the cause of my coming to Paris."†

\* Of Fuenterrabia and the other spanish posts occupied by the french in the late contest.

† Earl Stanhope to sir Luke Schaub. Paris, March 28, 1720. Hardwicke Papers.

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Notwithstanding this unequivocal expression of the public sentiment, the importunities of the regent prevented the king of England from giving a decisive refusal. The subject was referred to the congress of Cambray, and in the mean time, new efforts were employed to gain the nation and parliament, by holding forth the prospect of acquiring Florida, or the spanish part of St. Domingo, as an equivalent, with the grant of commercial advantages. This proposal was even approved by the cabinet council, and a letter written by the king to Philip, announcing his willingness to cede Gibraltar on the condition of such an equivalent.

Philip, who had been buoyed up with the prospect of an unconditional restoration; who hoped to flatter the pride of the nation by this darling acquisition; and who was as unwilling to give the english a footing in America, as to tolerate them in Spain, contemptuously rejected the proposal, and insisted that the promise was absolute and positive. The necessity of conciliating him, and the dread of a closer union between Spain and France, extorted from the king a letter calculated to flatter his hopes, without implying an additional obligation. "Since," he observes, "by the confidence your majesty expresses towards me, I may now look upon the treaties depending between us as



re-established, and that, conformably thereunto, the acts necessary for the commerce of my subjects will have been delivered, I no longer hesitate to assure your majesty of my readiness to satisfy you with regard to your demand relating to the restitution of Gibraltar, promising you to make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate this matter with the consent of my parliament.”\*

Philip, mistaking, or affecting to mistake this offer as unconditional, accepted it, and acceded to the peace.†

This arrangement gave rise to a long and active correspondence. Among the numerous letters which passed on the occasion, we select one from Mr. Stanhope, british envoy at Madrid, to sir Luke Schaub, as exhibiting the nature of the question in the most distinct point of view, and as throwing considerable light on the character of Philip, the state of his ministry, and the principles of his government.

“ I believe you will not be surprised if the

Jan. 18.

\* Translation of a letter from George I. to Philip V. St. James's, June 1, 1721. Walpole Papers.

† This part of the narrative is principally drawn from the diplomatic correspondence of earl Stanhope, Mr. Stanhope, sir Luke Schaub, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Sutton, british ministers or agents at Madrid, Paris, and London. Also from the correspondence between the king of England, the regent, and Du Bois. See also the narrative of this negotiation, in the Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 34.



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accounts I shall give you from hence of public affairs, should not be more pleasing than those you sent me from England, knowing so perfectly well as you do, the natural obstinacy of the king of Spain's temper, and the arguments he has always persisted in alleging for the restitution of Gibraltar, which, though certainly of no force in themselves, nevertheless continue to have their weight with him. To this may be added, that, as he thinks himself obliged in honour not to desist, having often publicly assured the spaniards that it should be given up, so his conscience also tells him, he ought to neglect nothing in his power to remove from his dominions such an heretical settlement.

“ Not to take up too much of your time, I will, in as short a manner as I can, acquaint you with the steps I took upon the receipt of your letter of the 18th of November, which came to my hand but the 6th instant, with every thing that has passed here since that time.


“ In the first place, I delivered your two letters to the marquis Scotti. He gave me the strongest assurances of doing his utmost, with the greatest sincerity, to bring the king of Spain to comply with what the king our master desired; which he, Scotti, acknowledged to be so just in itself, and advantageous and even so necessary for Spain, that, notwithstanding the invincible obstinacy of the king

hitherto, he had still very great hopes of success. In short, he said so much to encourage me, that had I known him or the king less, I should not have been in any pain for the event.

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1790—1793.

“Upon leaving M. Scotti, I went to the marquis de Grimaldo, to whom, in a very long conference, I represented in the best manner I was able, the justice of what I was charged with. At last, he told me that it was not necessary to use many arguments to convince him of the reasonableness of what the king our master demands in relation to Gibraltar. He assured me, in the greatest confidence, that he was of the same opinion with me upon that head; and that the difficulties encountered here, were not owing to him, or any other of the ministers, but proceeded solely from the king himself, whom he had never seen, since he had the honour to serve him, so immoveable upon any point, or have any thing so much at heart as he has the restitution of Gibraltar. He therefore could do nothing more than state what I had said to him, without taking upon him to persuade the king to alter his resolution, but desired I would ask an audience, wherein I might represent the reasons I had to offer with a greater liberty and force than it was fitting for him to do. Some hours after he sent me word the king would see me the next morning at the palace.


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“ Accordingly I went thither, and had the honour of an audience of the king alone, for three quarters of an hour. I shall not trouble you with the account of what I represented, which would be only to repeat the substance of your own letter, and my former instructions. The king in answer began by expressing how sensible he was of the proofs the king our master had given him of his regard and friendship, by the orders sent to commodore Stewart, and the offer of still more ships to serve against the moors, which he said he would gladly accept, if he found he had occasion for them. On his part he would take every opportunity of shewing his gratitude; and desired me to assure his majesty, that he wished for nothing more earnestly than to live always in the most intimate friendship with him. For that purpose he was willing and desirous to enter into the strictest alliances, which he looked upon as not only advantageous to both their dominions, but even necessary for the safety of Europe; otherwise he was persuaded the emperor would make himself master of all Italy this year. He afterwards demanded upon what terms the king our master would enter upon a treaty with him? I answered, nothing more was demanded from his majesty at present, but the confirmation of all the treaties subsisting at the time of the rupture, and which were actually confirmed by


the Quadruple Alliance, and by the treaty of armistice, and that for what related to Gibraltar and the equivalent, they should be reserved till a more favourable opportunity.

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“ As to the first part, the king made no objection, but as to the last, he repeated all the arguments you have heard him make use of for the immediate restitution, and particularly his acceding to the Quadruple Alliance upon that account, as a condition *sine qua non*, which he at the same time declared to the regent, and had his positive assurances, that it would be complied with. And as to the parliament, he said, if it was reasonable to believe, that they would have consented to part with that place two years ago, to prevent a war, he did not understand why the same arguments should not still prevail upon them. That if they would not now hear of parting with Gibraltar for the sake of peace, and the restoring of their commerce, he could not imagine they would be ever prevailed upon to do it when those reasons should subsist no longer. I endeavoured to shew the impossibility of complying with what he demanded, from the present situation of affairs in England, and temper of the parliament, and to show that to press it now, was to lose it for ever. At last the king said he would consider upon what I had represented to him, and order Grimaldo

CHAP. 31. to give me his determination upon it in writing,  
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“ Whilst the answer was depending, I saw both Scotti and Grimaldo every day, and was always flattered by the first, and not altogether discouraged by the latter. At length, I received the inclosed paper from Grimaldo. Before you read it, I desire to premise to you that the expressions in it are different from what they ought to be, in relation to the former pretended promise of Gibraltar, and also to his majesty's present dispositions to restore it for an equivalent, whenever it shall be practicable, of which equivalent no mention is therein made. This matter I have explained to the ministers here, who readily agreed with me, that it ought to have been otherwise expressed. I must also tell you that the several demands at the latter end are not supposed to be insisted on by way of treaty; but only to explain what the king of Spain would wish his majesty to comply with. You will readily believe, that I could not look upon this answer otherwise than as a fresh declaration of the king of Spain's persisting obstinately in his former resolution, though Scotti and Grimaldo endeavoured to represent it to me as a very great condescension. But it was easy to prove to them that the very same difficulties which tied up the king's hands

from giving Gibraltar at present, equally subsisted to his engaging absolutely to the doing of it a year hence; that the alternative of annulling the *asiento* was nothing, it being even more impossible to be contracted for, as being already disposed of by parliament to the South Sea Company.

“As to the several things requested in the same paper, I would not enter so much upon them till the first point should be settled, and contented myself with saying in general, that the king, our master, was desirous to give his catholic majesty all imaginable proofs of his friendship, in whatever was not contrary to the treaties already entered into, but it could not be expected he would act in violation of them. I assure you, Sir, that since this answer, I have neglected nothing in my power to obtain a more agreeable one, by applying to all the ministers here, Scotti, Grimaldo, the confessor, and Don Andres de Pez,\* who all assure me they desire the same thing, and say that they find two obstacles, which render the king so positive upon this point: the having so often publicly declared to the spaniards, that Gibraltar should be restored, and the fixed opinion he holds that the parliament of England will be brought to consent for the sake of their commerce, provided they think him immoveable

\* President of the council of Indies.

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in his resolution. They all assure me they will do their utmost to accommodate this affair, and particularly the confessor, who the other day promised me to speak to the king upon it. But having lately received a letter from Grimaldo, wherein he tells me that the king is still unalterable, I thought it proper to send back the courier with the state of the matter as it now stands, and in case of any alteration, design immediately to dispatch another. It is very unfortunate that our hands are tied as to Gibraltar, so as not to take advantage of this immoderate desire the king of Spain has to obtain it; for were it otherwise, notwithstanding the pretended promise of it, I am fully persuaded we might yet sell it for double its worth in advantages to our commerce.

“I now come to that part of your letter wherein you say it was to be wished that the court of Spain could be induced to give up to us la Florida, or that part of Hispaniola they still are in possession of, as an equivalent for Gibraltar. In answer to which I shall plainly confess to you, that from the best lights it has been possible for me to get of the dispositions of the people in general here, and particularly of those in power, such a proposition will meet with infinite, if not insurmountable difficulties. The confidence and intimacy with which I have always lived with Don Andres de Pez, occasion my

foreseeing those difficulties plainer than I otherwise should have done. For during all the time that I have known him, he has seemed to have nothing more zealously at heart, than to drive the french from their settlements on the Mississippi, upon this general principle that the suffering of any foreigners to establish themselves in any part of the spanish West Indies would sooner or later occasion the loss of the whole to Spain. And as you will have seen by my former letters that by this late change in the ministry, the affairs of the Indies are wholly in his hands, (he being president and secretary of state for the Indies and the Marine,) nothing can be hoped for in opposition to his sentiments. Though he most certainly is extremely well disposed to favour his majesty's subjects in their commerce, and to cultivate a good correspondence between the two nations; yet in a point of this consequence, and so contrary to all his maxims, I doubt we cannot flatter ourselves much from his good intentions. I have already talked to him two or three times upon this subject, not as to a minister, but upon that familiar footing, which we have used to converse together, and always found him as immoveable upon that head as the king of Spain is upon Gibraltar. He is not only convinced that it is impossible ever to persuade the spaniards to approve of such a proposal, but would endeavour



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to prove to me, that we do not know what we ask in demanding either of those places: He assures me upon his own knowledge, that they would be a charge and no ways profitable, being barren and scarce productive, even to subsist the inhabitants, and that we should soon be as tired of them as we were of Tangier; and for the same reasons, as entailing a continual war upon the nation, with the indians and spaniards settled there. That therefore we could propose no other advantages by them, but the hopes of penetrating by their means toward the mines, or carrying on a clandestine trade, either of which is a reason strong enough to hinder the spaniards from ever coming into such a project.

“ It is certainly very necessary to proceed with the caution you intimate to me in addressing Scotti, so as not to give any jealousy to Grimaldo, and I can assure you that Scotti himself is as careful and fearful upon that head as we can possibly be. However, after keeping your public letter two or three days by him, in order to let Grimaldo be the first to open the matter to the king, he ventured to produce it to both their majesties, who extremely approved the manner of your writing, though not the matter you write about. Scotti's present situation is something different from what it was when you left us. Although he sees the king and queen as much

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and as often as ever he did, and with the same privilege of entering at all hours, without being sent for, I am however fully persuaded that he seldom takes upon him the office of a minister, so as to propose matters from himself, directly, by way of advice; but that as occasions offer in conversation, he is still able to do great service. The intimacy I have with him will not let me judge otherwise; for though there hardly ever passes a day that we are not together some hours, we never once parted without his requesting me with great earnestness not to intimate to any person that we ever talk of public affairs, but more especially to Grimaldo and the confessor, whereas the first never mentions Scotti's name to me."\*

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We spare the reader any further documents, however interesting, on this important subject; and particularly as we shall afterwards frequently recur to it, as one of the principal causes of our perpetual disputes with Spain.

\* Mr. Stanhope to sir Luke Schaub, Madrid, Jan. 18, 1721.  
Hardwicke Papers.

## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SECOND.

1721—1723.

*Reconciliation of Philip with the regent duke of Orleans—Double marriages between the two branches of the house of Bourbon—New difficulties in arranging the accommodation with the emperor—Opening of the congress of Cambray—Habits and monotonous life of Philip and his queen—State of the court and administration after the removal of Alberoni—Temporary favour of Scötti, d'Aubenton, Tolosa, and Mirabal—Rise and character of Grimaldo.*

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**I**N the midst of these transactions, a more intimate connection took place between France and Spain, by an arrangement between Philip and the regent, which favoured the views of both, and suspended their political rivalry. The regent, appreciating the strength of the party attached to the antient maxims of state, adopted the only expedient proper to weaken their opposition, by entering into a family alliance with Philip. On the other hand, the king of Spain concurred in the design as the means of re-establishing the union between the two bourbon crowns, without awakening the jealousy of England.

It is equally uncertain and immaterial, where or how the proposal originated; but, about the

time of Philip's accession to the Quadruple Alliance, negotiations were commenced for a marriage between Louis, prince of Asturias, the eldest son of Philip by his first wife, and Louisa Isabella, a daughter of the regent ; and between Louis the fifteenth, and the infanta, Mary Anne, a daughter of Elizabeth Farnesé. The arrangement was concluded by the agency of the duke of St. Simon, the confidential friend of the regent, who was deputed for the purpose to Madrid. As the infanta was only in her fifth year, the consummation of her marriage was so distant and uncertain an event, as to flatter the views both of Philip and the regent on the crown ; and if the match should really take place, the ambition of the catholic sovereigns would still be gratified by the elevation of their daughter to the throne of France.\*

The marriage of Don Louis with Louisa Isabella of Orleans, allayed the personal animosity which had aggravated the disputes between the two nations. But it is a singular instance of the spiritual bondage to which Philip was reduced,

\* Villars, who divined the views of the regent, paid him this ironical compliment : " Permit me to hail you, Sire, as the most adroit prince on earth. Richelieu and Mazarin, those great politicians, never conceived so grand a design. The prince of Asturias being fourteen, and mademoiselle de Montpensier, ten on the 10th of Dec. 1721, promise a far more numerous issue, than we may expect from the infanta." *Mem. de Villars*, t. 2, p. 514.

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to observe that the regent was compelled to purchase the approbation and support of d'Aubenton, by gratifying him with the reappointment of a jesuit confessor to the king, in the room of the venerable abbot Fleury, and with the reception of the bull *unigenitus* in France, which gave his order the victory over their rivals the jansenists.\*

The king and queen themselves conducted the infanta to Burgos, where they waited to receive the future princess of Asturias. Bull-feasts, and every species of public rejoicing, announced the satisfaction of the sovereigns; but the match was far from being equally grateful to a nation, who, priding themselves on the purity of their blood, were averse to see a natural descendent of Louis the fourteenth selected to share their throne.†

Encouraged, if not urged, by the counsels of the regent, Philip endeavoured to lure the cupidity of the maritime powers, while he conti-

\* Memoires de Noailles, t. 5, p. 126.

St. Simon and Duclos affect to deny the interference of the confessor, by asserting that the king of Spain never made the proposal, because it did not pass through the hands of St. Simon, then french ambassador at Madrid; but the fact was, that d'Aubenton, finding St. Simon unwilling to charge himself with the proposition, obtained the acquiescence of the regent, by the agency of his favourite du Bois. St. Simon, t. 8, c. 4.—Duclos, t. 2, p. 186, 192.


† St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 92.

nually raised his demands on the emperor. Not satisfied with the renunciation of the title of king of Spain, he now required the cession of all the dependent titles and honours, and particularly the grand mastership of the golden fleece, with the treasure and archives of the order. He also insisted that an immediate arrangement should be concluded for placing spanish, instead of swiss garrisons, in the fortresses of Tuscany and Parma; and that the pretensions of the duke of Parma should not be judged at a diet of the empire, but at a congress of all the european powers. As if in actual possession, he demanded an arrangement of the boundaries between the Milanese and the Parmesan, and the transfer of certain towns, which facilitated the trade of Tuscany, from the adherents of the House of Austria to his own dependents. To counterbalance the imperial authority, he also insisted that the states of Mantua, Mirandola, Montferrat, and Sabionetta, with other imperial fiefs, should be restored to their original proprietors, and Italy replaced in the same situation as before the war of the succession.

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These extravagant demands, however, were not relished by the maritime powers, and therefore were peremptorily rejected by the emperor. On his part, he likewise embarrassed the negotiation by requiring the guaranty of the pragmatic

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sanction for the entail of his hereditary dominions on his own daughters, in preference to those of his deceased brother Joseph, or any other pretenders, to his succession, as a recompence for fulfilling the conditions of the Quadruple Alliance.

When so many jarring pretensions existed, and when the slightest movement on one hand was sufficient to awaken alarms on the other, the progress towards a reconciliation was frequently suspended, and the difficulty was also increased by the discordant interests of the mediating powers themselves. The accommodation between France and Spain, however imperfect, had produced an immediate return towards the former system of policy. The regent, as anxious to gratify Philip as to humble the House of Austria, supported many of his demands, though contrary to the stipulations of the Quadruple Alliance, and strenuously opposed the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction. On the other hand, the king of England overlooked many causes of personal dissatisfaction with the emperor, favoured his designs for the establishment of his succession, and was chiefly solicitous to obtain from him the investiture of Bremen and Verden, and the abolition of the Ostend company.

Such discordant views naturally produced endless chicanes and delays. Although the plenipotentiaries of the different powers had all

appeared at Cambray in the middle of the year 1722, the congress was not formally opened till 1724, and the interval was spent in questions of ceremonial, and in obtaining from the emperor letters of investiture, for the Italian duchies, according to the form required by Spain. At this juncture, however, all negotiations were again suspended by the sudden abdication of Philip.\*


St. Simon, whose post of family ambassador entitled him to the privilege of a frequent intercourse with the sovereigns, and whose fondness for anecdote renders his pages peculiarly rich in those minute, but often important, circumstances, which escape the cursory observer, has recorded the invariable detail of the daily occurrences in the life of Philip and his queen, at this particular period. As the personal habits and dispositions of sovereigns so essentially influence the fate of nations, more particularly in governments approximating to a despotic form, we present the description of St. Simon to the reader, as a picture unique in its kind, and as furnishing one clue to the many singular changes, and extraordinary events, which mark the reign of Philip.

“At nine in the morning, the *quasa feta*, or first woman of the bed chamber, drew aside the

\* St. Philippe, t. 4, passim.—Rousset, t. 2, passim.—History of the House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 8.



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curtains, followed by a french valet, who carried a restorative cordial, composed of broth, milk, wine, two yolks of eggs, sugar, cinnamon, and cloves. While the king was drinking this cordial, the *assa feta* brought the queen some tapestry, or other work; and, having placed upon the bed some of the papers which lay on the chairs, retired with the valet. Their majesties then said their morning prayers. The prime minister, when there was one, or the secretary of state, then made his appearance, and transacted the necessary business; while the queen's employment did not prevent her from giving her opinion. The minister retiring, the *assa feta* brought the king his night gown and slippers, and his majesty passed into his dressing room, where he was assisted by three french valets, and two spanish noblemen of his household. Being quickly dressed, he passed a quarter of an hour alone with his confessor, and then repaired to the queen's toilette.


“ On the king's retiring to his dressing room, the queen rose from bed, attended only by the *assa feta*, and these were almost the only few minutes in the four and twenty hours which she could call her own, and converse on confidential business unknown to the king. Hence the consequence and power of the *assa feta*, who was always a person in the highest confidence; and

the importance of these precious moments when the queen could receive or return any message or letter. But as this time seldom exceeded half a quarter of an hour, without giving umbrage to the king, it is easy to imagine with what apprehensions letters or messages were received or returned, or with what precipitation the political conference was closed. The queen then repaired to her toilette, which was attended by the king, accompanied by two or three principal officers of his household, the infants, and their governors.

“At the conclusion of the toilette, their majesties repaired to the drawing room, to receive foreign ministers, and those grandees, who requested a private audience. When any one was introduced, the queen affected to retire to the other end of the apartment; but the persons who came to be presented, well aware that the king related to her every thing which passed; and that she would be offended if a secret was attempted to be kept from her, always intreated her majesty to approach, or spoke sufficiently loud to be heard, if she persisted in keeping aloof. In all cases, however, Philip never gave an answer to any business of importance without having first consulted the queen in private, or without asking her opinion at the time of audience.

“After the audience, the king and queen

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heard mass, and sat down to dinner at twelve, where no one was admitted but those who had been present at her majesty's toilette. The king and queen had each their particular dishes. The queen, who loved eating, a great many; the king few, and these always the same; such as soup, fowls, boiled pigeons, and a roast loin of veal; neither fruit, sallad, nor cheese, and rarely any pastry. He never confined himself to maigre, but was particularly fond of eggs, as well raw as dressed in different ways. They both drank champagne. After dinner they said their prayers, saw the minister, if he had any particular business to transact, mounted in a carriage together to take the diversion of shooting, which, though the only amusement of the king, was no less dull and melancholy than the rest of his life. A number of peasants, forming a large circle, forced the game into a particular spot, while the king and queen, stationed in an avenue, shot promiscuously at stags, wild boars, hares, and foxes, as they were driven along before them. In returning from shooting they took a collation; the king, biscuits or bread, with wine and water; the queen, pastry, fruits, and cheese. Then they received the infants, and infantas, for about a quarter of an hour, and afterwards transacted business with the minister or secretary of state.

“ This was the time in which the queen con-

fessed once a week. She retired with the confessor into a cabinet adjoining; and if the king thought the confession too long, he would open the door and call her. The minister entering, they again said their prayers, or read some book of devotion till supper, which was exactly the same as the dinner. After supper, conversation or prayers *tête à tête* till they retired to rest.

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“Once a week, when a public audience was given, and at Madrid always when the council of Castile was assembled, the queen was able to receive any person of confidence unknown to the king; and it was in these conferences, and by means of the *assa feta*, that she deliberated on the dismissal and appointment of prime ministers, and on the best means of obtaining the king's compliance with any political business to which he appeared averse.”\*

Such being the invariable habits and disposition of the sovereign, it is easy to conceive the confusion and imbecility derived from the rupture of the master-spring which had given energy to every department of government, and of the sudden relapse from a state of the utmost activity to an almost total stagnation of business.

The king, in imitation of Louis the fourteenth, affected to be his own minister, and to conduct the business of state according to the ancient

\* St. Simon, t. 4. p. 183—201.

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forms of the national administration. But after a temporary struggle with a load to which his strength was unequal, he gradually sunk into his habitual melancholy, and, without delivering the reins to a more able hand, evaded the avocations of the kingly office, by secluding himself within the apartments of the palace.

The queen, whose agency was now doubly necessary to sway the indecisive mind of her husband, was alarmed by the odium which was attached to the italian government, and declining, or affecting to decline business openly, interfered only in matters which regarded her own personal interests, or those of her family.

This species of interregnum, however, opened a field to various competitors for political power.

The marquis Scotti succeeded for a short period to the favour of the minister, in whose disgrace he was the principal agent. But though enjoying all the advantages of his countryman, in the privilege of an intimate and familiar intercourse with the sovereigns, he wanted talents and spirit to seize the helm of state; and after figuring a few months in the sunshine of royal favour, sunk into his native insignificance, owing the remnant of his remaining credit to the support of his obscure protectress, Laura Piscatori.\*

Father d'Aubenton, whose spirit of intrigue

\* Mr. Stanhope's dispatch in the preceding chapter.

was not damped by age, and who was neither deficient in talents or address, soon overbalanced the weight of Scotti. Being hourly necessary to administer spiritual consolation to the desponding mind of Philip, he at one period attained so great a portion of influence, that he was designated as the real prime minister. But his career was terminated by that hand which arrests all human ambition. He died (for the death of such a man forms an epoch in the history of Spain) on the 7th of August 1724, in the house of the jesuits at Madrid, whither he had been transported in his last moments. His place, though not his loss, was supplied by father Bermudez, a spanish jesuit, who was far his inferior both in talents and experience, and who wanted that authority which long habit no less than his ghostly office had given him over the mind of the monarch.\*

Don Michael Fernandez Duran, marquis of Tolosa, who was introduced into office by Alberoni, had acquired considerable credit during his administration, and had the good fortune or dexterity to avoid being involved in his disgrace. The privileges of his office as secretary of war, gave him frequent access to the royal presence; but his rising influence drew on him the common attacks of all the pretenders to court favour

\* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 127.

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The jealousy which Philip fostered against all the dependents of Alberoni was called into action, and Tolosa, under the accusation of being implicated in a fraudulent contract for supplying the african army with provisions, was deprived of his offices. He soon fell a victim to the chagrin occasioned by his disgrace.\*

Another person, who, to an ostensible place in the administration, united a share of the royal confidence, was Don Andres de Pez, president of the council of Indies. He was distinguished for his probity; but having grown grey in the routine of business, he was deeply imbued with the prejudices of his country and his station.† On the disgrace of Tolosa, he received the secretaryship of the marine; but did not long survive to enjoy this accession of power.

The marquis of Castellar, who succeeded Tolosa in the secretaryship of war, and his brother Don Joseph Patiño, the able intendant of the marine, were both men of distinguished talents, and secretly favoured by the queen. At this juncture, however, their credit was of too recent a date, to enable them to emerge from a subordinate station.

The other members of administration were little more than cyphers, and the antient forms of

\* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 60.

† Mr. Dodington and Mr. Stanhope's dispatches.


the government, which had been first superseded by the policy of Orri and Alberoni, had been gradually suffered to moulder away by the indolence or jealousy of the monarch himself. Of the council of state, which once united the persons most distinguished for rank, merits, or services, in the whole compass of the monarchy, only three members remained; the presidency of the council of orders was left vacant by the recent death of the marquis of Bedmar; and after the death of Don Andres de Pez, no nomination was made to the ministries of war and the marine, or the presidency of the Indies. The marquis of Campo Florido, head of the finances, was reduced to a mere cypher by his declining health, and the marquis of Mirabel, president of Castile, possessed more personal than official authority.\*

The person for whom accident rather than design had thus opened the way to the highest place in the administration, was the marquis of Grimaldo, a native of Biscay, who from his early years had been trained to the business of state. Originally a clerk under Orri, he gained the favour of his employer as well as that of the princess Orsini, and in 1704, he first emerged to notice as secretary of the Indies and war. Pleasing in his manners, diligent in the trans-

\* St. Philippe, t. 4, *passim*.



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action of business, and uniting a dexterous flexibility of character with the exterior of candour and sincerity, he speedily acquired the esteem of Philip, who was flattered by the appearance of deference to his opinion, and affection to his person. Grimaldo; however, employed his favour so discreetly, that after the return of the princess to power, he did not incur her jealousy; and amidst all the subsequent revolutions still continued attached to the court. By the arrangements of Orri, he was confined to the department of foreign affairs; but his gratitude and devotion still preserved the esteem of his early patron. As he continued to gain additional favour with the king, the disgrace of Orri opened the way for further advancement; and after the second marriage, he added to his original office, the important post of private secretary to the new queen. He gained great merit by the prudence with which he settled the contest with the inquisition; and though he suffered a temporary eclipse under Alberoni, yet he was never excluded from office, nor lost the royal favour. On the disgrace of Alberoni, he found rivals in Scotti and d'Aubenton; but his own prudence and diligence, joined to the death of his most dangerous competitor, soon left him the entire ascendancy. He was, however, far better adapted for a subordinate than a superior

station, and ill calculated to receive the reins of government from the vigorous hand of Alberoni. He was greatly deficient in information, firmness of character, and vigour of intellect, and in addition to these radical defects, was already labouring under the disadvantages and infirmities of advanced age.

At this time, he was appointed a counsellor of state, and as secretary for foreign affairs, being almost the sole organ of the royal will, he was regarded as the prime minister in functions, though not in name. His honours were not, however, without some alloy. Though hitherto favoured by the queen, he soon incurred that jealousy which she invariably conceived against all who appeared to acquire an ascendancy over the mind of the king. His manifest devotion to England exposed him to all the hostilities of the french partisans, and in particular he found a formidable rival in his brother secretary, the marquis of Castelar. Conscious of his own deficiency, sinking under the weight of business, which daily accumulated, unable to draw assistance from the dilapidated remnant of the national administration, or to rouse the attention of the monarch, he endeavoured to lessen the heavy responsibility of his situation by recommending the admission of the prince of Asturias into the cabinet council. His suggestion was too popular

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to be rejected, and the prince justified the recommendation by displaying an intelligence and capacity above his age. But, after a short period, the expedient was rendered abortive, by the arts of the queen, and the restlessness of the king himself, who, by hurrying from residence to residence, while the prince remained at the Escorial, virtually excluded him from any real share in the current affairs.

Such was the state of the king and government, when a new and singular revolution took place in the ever changeable court of Madrid.\*

\* St. Philippe, t. 1, 2 and 3, passim.—t. 4, p. 60—112.—Dodgington's and Stanhope's dispatches.—Ortiz, t. 7, p. 368.

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-THIRD.

1724.

*Construction of the royal residence of St. Ildefonso—Abdication of Philip—Acts and formalities on the occasion—Conjectures relative to the causes of this extraordinary event.*

FROM different causes, Philip seems to have long meditated the abdication of his crown; and like a second Dioclesian selected a splendid retreat,\* in which he might enjoy the power and advantages without the trammels of royalty. This retreat was his favourite village of Balsain, where he had expended no less than six millions in the construction of the palace of St. Ildefonso, which in memory of the magnificent pile raised by Louis the fourteenth, he called his little Versailles.

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1724.

\* The abdication and retreat of Philip have been absurdly compared to those of his predecessor Charles the fifth; but without the least degree of resemblance except in the mere fact of abdication. Charles did not relinquish the reins of government till after a long, active, and glorious reign; and when he retired he adopted the life of an anchorite, banishing public affairs even from his thoughts. But Philip descended from the throne in the prime of life, maintained the state of a monarch even in his retreat; took an active share in political affairs, and besides looking forward to a more splendid crown than he had quitted, never abandoned the reins of government.

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It lies on the north of the ridge of mountains which crosses the center of Spain, and on the opposite side of which stands the more proud but gloomy pile of the Escorial, built by Philip the second, in the midst of barren heights, and exposed in summer to all the ardour of the most sultry climate in Europe. To this residence, St. Ildefonso, the favourite retreat of Philip, forms a grateful and striking contrast. Situated in the deepest recess of a narrow valley, accessible only to the north wind, it affords in the midst of the autumnal heats, a cool and delicious retreat, surrounded by all the freshness and fragrance of spring; while the southern declivity of the mountains is scorched with intense heat, and presents nothing but a cheerless, brown and arid surface.

The time was now arrived when Philip deemed it proper to carry this long meditated design into execution. His purpose was however kept a profound secret to all except the queen, the prince, Grimaldo, the marquis of Valoure, chief of his french household, and the confessor. As if even to baffle suspicion, an audience granted to the british envoy on the death of the duke regent, was marked with an affectation of cheerfulness. "In this audience," says Mr. Stanhope, "which the princess of Rubec told me was one of the longest she ever remembered their catholic

majesties to have given, the queen appeared with her usual gaiety. She asked me several questions, and often repeated that as women were naturally curious, I must not be surprised, in a matter which so much concerned her, at her being desirous to know what I thought would be the event of the investitures so long promised;\* and whether the emperor would be brought without force to execute his engagements relating to her son; it being what she could hardly persuade herself to believe. During this conversation the king was silent, but upon her mentioning the gardens of St. Ildefonso, he asked if I had seen those at Versailles and Marli, comparing some of the water works there with those at St. Ildefonso. This I mention as a thing unusual with the king to enter voluntarily into any kind of conversation, and I confess that I could not discover any thing else new in him.”†

After imparting the design to the prince in an audience, Philip announced it by a message to the council of Castile.

“ Having,” he observed, “ these four years reflected with due and mature consideration on the miseries of this life; and on the infirmities, wars, and troubles with which God has visited me during the twenty-three years of my reign;

Jan. 10.

\* The investiture of the Italian duchies to her son Don Carlos.

† Mr. Stanhope to lord Carteret, Jan. 16, 1724, NS.

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seeing also that my son the infant Don Louis is of competent age, married, and endowed with discretion; judgment, and talents, sufficient for governing this monarchy justly, and wisely, I have determined to retire wholly from the government, renouncing all my states, kingdoms, and lordships in favour of the said Don Louis, in order to lead at St. Ildefonso a private life with the queen, who has offered to accompany me with pleasure, that freed from all other cares, I may serve God, meditate on a future life, and devote myself to the important work of my salvation. I impart this to the council, that it may take the requisite measures on the occasion, and that all may be apprised of my intentions."

This communication was accompanied with a list of the new ministry, the chiefs of the royal household, and the names of twelve persons who were to be honoured with the golden fleece.

On the same day the act of abdication was formally passed before the council in a long and laboured decree. As if desirous to give his parting wishes the force as well as the formality of law, Philip, after a preamble, announcing his abdication nearly in the terms of the message already quoted, apostrophised his son, and under the shape of advice, detailed the maxims of his government, and traced the arrangements which he was expected to sanction.



Should Louis die without issue, he intailed the crown on his other sons in succession, and appointed a council of regency, in case the future sovereign should be called to the throne a minor. He inculcated respect towards the church, and the inquisition as the bulwark of the faith, and urged him to consult the welfare and remedy the grievances of his subjects. He coupled these admonitions with a pressing recommendation of the queen and her children, adverted to the establishments reserved for himself and the minor branches of his family, and concluded with an injunction to fulfil the testament which the queen and himself had recently executed.

This act being recorded in the council, was conveyed by Grimaldo to the Escorial, and read by the new sovereign in the presence of his whole court.

Jan. 14.

On the following day Louis announced his acceptance of the crown in an answer which merely echoes the decree of abdication, and was evidently dictated by a dependent of the court of St. Ildefonso. After expressing his veneration and astonishment, at the piety and self-denial which had prompted the retirement of his father, he pledged himself to sanction his arrangements and to follow his advice, and did not omit a solemn promise to respect the queen as his mother, and regard her children as his brothers.

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He concluded with expressing a wish to imitate the example of his father in retirement. "God grant," he said, "that after treading awhile in your steps, I may have the same opinion of the vain greatness of this world; and that being sensibly affected with its nothingness, I may likewise imitate you in your retreat, and prefer great and solid happiness to transitory and perishing honours."

Although Louis accepted the crown, and the council of Castile had recorded the abdication, yet many formalities were requisite to render it valid. The council of Castile proposed to assemble the cortes, and obtain their consent. But many objections occurred to this measure. Philip justly apprehended that an assembly once so powerful might profit by the occasion to resume its lost authority; he was not without his fears that the cortes might even refuse their assent; at all events, he considered that a ratification so public and solemn would for ever preclude him from resuming his dignity; a resumption which he was evidently unwilling to render impracticable. After much deliberation he adopted the usual expedient employed to obviate the necessity of appealing to the representatives of the nation collectively. Circular letters were written to obtain the consent of the towns possessing the right of choosing deputies;

and the approbation of the other branches of the state was considered as virtually given by the acquiescence of the prelates and nobles residing at the court.

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After these formalities the new sovereign was proclaimed in the capital with the accustomed ceremony; and Philip, having pronounced a solemn vow never to resume the crown, established himself in his chosen retreat.

Feb. 9.

The household and ministry were transferred in a body to the new monarch, except Grimaldo and M. de Valoure, who still continued to fill the offices of secretary and high-chamberlain to Philip; Donna Laura, and five other female attendants attached to the queen; and an establishment of menial servants amounting to about sixty persons. And as Philip relinquished his favourite diversion of the chace, the stables and equipages were proportionably curtailed. He refused a guard, and was with difficulty persuaded to suffer a small detachment to be stationed at Balsain, in case of accidents. For his own privy purse, he reserved a yearly pension amounting to £.120,000, to be continued to the queen after his decease; 20,000 to each of the three infants; and 10,000 to each of the infantas, with a certain sum for the completion of the buildings at St. Ildefonso.\*

\* Act of abdication in St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 272.

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Numerous conjectures have been formed relative to the causes of this extraordinary event, but doubtless the principal motives were derived from that singular mixture of superstition and self interest, of indolence and ambition, which composed the character of Philip. He had adopted the notion that the bequest of Charles the second, which placed him on the spanish throne, was illegal, and he was equally convinced that his own renunciation of the french crown was no less invalid: to this was added a rooted predilection for his native country, which gained strength by time. From one or all of these motives, he had more than once formed the design of quitting the spanish throne. In his melancholy moods, during the war of the succession, he had even taken the resolution to resign in favour of his competitor the archduke, but had been over-ruled by his beloved queen, and the confessor Robinet. The complicated arrangements, after the peace of Utrecht, and the tumult of business during the brilliant administration of Alberoni, had left him neither time nor inclination to meditate on retirement; but in the sudden stagnation of affairs, which succeeded, his hypochondriac malady returned, and with it the darling idea of abdication. Of this disposition, the duke of Orleans endeavoured to take advantage, as the means of hastening the

accession of his son in law, and reducing the influence of Philip in France; but the attempt was frustrated by the representations of the queen and d'Aubenton.

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Still, however, this latent inclination returned whenever a prospect was opened of succeeding to the throne of France, and at this moment it acquired new strength from the death of the duke of Orleans, the only guarantee of the future marriage between the infanta and Louis the fifteenth, and the only dangerous rival to his views on the crown. At this particular juncture, also, the repeated maladies,\* and apparently declining health of the young king, gave ample scope for the operation of these combined motives of religion and interest, inclination and ambition; and their effect was augmented by the pressing representations of the duke of Bourbon, who, in the favour of Philip, hoped to secure a counterpoise to the rival House of Orleans.

Philip, therefore, looked forward with hope and confidence to the prospect of ascending the throne of his ancestors. He endeavoured at once to satisfy the scruples of his conscience, and obviate the opposition of other powers, by transferring Spain beforehand to one of his sons by the former marriage, and, at the proper

\* In February, Louis the XVth was in a state of imminent danger, and saved by bleeding in the foot.

CHAP. 33. time, by renewing the engagements for preventing the union of the two crowns on one head.  
 1724.

Whatever might have been the disposition of the queen at former periods, it is probable that she did not now contemplate with indifference the near prospect of succeeding to the crown of France, of entailing so splendid a succession on her own family, and of quitting a country, for which she fostered a rooted dislike, and where she was equally detested. She, therefore, at least tacitly approved, if she did not strengthen the resolution of her husband, to quit for a short period the duties of royalty, as the prelude to the resumption of them on a more splendid theatre.

The conduct of the two sovereigns corroborates these arguments. So anxiously did they turn their views towards this new establishment, that secret and incessant communications were maintained with the duke of Bourbon, and the spanish party. Couriers were stationed on the road between the two capitals; the necessary preparations for a journey to France were already made at St. Ildefonso; even the jewels and money of the queen were packed up, and every precaution was taken to profit by the news of the young king's death, which their sanguine hopes led them hourly to expect.\*

\* *Memoires de St. Simon*, t. 7, p. 306.—*Memoires de Richelieu*, t. 3, p. 356.

Indeed, Philip had scarcely resigned the crown, before he meditated a visit to France, under the pretence of restoring his health, though with the evident purpose to mature his plans on the spot, and encourage his adherents by his presence. The design was probably favoured by the duke of Bourbon: but the bare report sufficed to awaken the alarms of the british government, which was tremblingly alive to every incident affecting the renunciations of the two crowns. An earnest remonstrance was accordingly made to the french cabinet, and the cautious Fleury quieted their apprehensions, not only by a solemn promise to maintain the existing engagements, but by obtaining from the young king himself a declaration that he would not permit the journey of the abdicated monarch.\*

Were any additional proof necessary, it might suffice to remark, that religious motives, and love of retirement alone, did not influence the mind of Philip; for, had that been the case, he would not have clung with such pertinacity to the authority which he affected to relinquish; he would not have abridged the resources of the new sovereign by lavishing his parting favours on the dependants of the court: he would not have established an administration, calculated to throw the whole power of the government into

\* Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. 8.

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his own hands ; nor in the existing necessities of the state would he have deposited a large sum of money at Segovia, except for the purpose of being employed on some momentous emergency.

There is little doubt also that the design was concerted with the duke of Bourbon and the chiefs of his party in France ; for marshal Tessé, one of the most zealous advocates for the regular order of succession, was nominated minister to Spain after the death of the duke of Orleans ; and notwithstanding his advanced age, proceeded on his mission and appeared at St. Ildefonso immediately after the abdication.\* His journey in such circumstances could have no other object than to preserve a direct communication with Philip, to instigate him to maintain his authority over the government of his son, and to mature the requisite preparations in conjunction with the duke of Bourbon, for facilitating his eventual succession to the crown of France.

\* Stanhope's dispatches.

## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FOURTH.

1724—1725.

*Accession and character of Louis—Account of his queen—Their matrimonial infelicity—Her caprice and indiscretion—Temporary disgrace—Project for obtaining a divorce—Embarrassments of the new government—Characters and situation of his ministers—Predominant influence of the court of St. Ildefonso—Plans of the queen dowager for the establishment of her son, Don Carlos—Incipient schism between the two courts—Attacks against the authority of Philip—Illness and death of Louis—Philip resumes the crown, in contradiction to his vow, and in opposition to a part of the ministry—Situation of the widowed queen.*

**THE** new reign was so short, and the new monarch possessed so scanty a share of authority, that the name of Louis scarcely appears in the annals of authentic history, beyond the boundaries of Spain.

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Louis, eldest son of Philip by Maria Louisa of Savoy, was in the seventeenth year of his age, when he was raised to the throne, by the abdication of his father, with as little experience as power. By birth, habit, and inclination, attached to the customs and manners of Spain, he was welcomed by his subjects with universal applause. His entry into the capital bore the air of a triumph; and when, according to antient



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custom, his accession was announced by the acclamation, "Castile, Castile, for king Louis," the united voice of exulting crowds spontaneously hailed him with the epithet of the *well beloved*. Not deficient in abilities, if they had been properly called forth and directed, he was not averse to science; and possessed a taste for the polite and liberal arts. He was elegant in person; in address and manner strikingly contrasted with the cold, stiff, and reserved deportment of his father; he excelled in personal accomplishments, and tempered the spanish gravity with the captivating affability of the bourbon family.

So sudden an elevation, at so early an age, gave scope to the thoughtlessness of youthful levity. He was at first inattentive to business, and so careless of public respect, that he often sallied forth at midnight in disguise, to scour the streets of the capital, or to strip the royal gardens of their fruit, that he might, the following morning, be gratified with the frivolous pleasure of witnessing the vexation of the gardeners.\* But the first ebullitions of youth rapidly subsided. He respected the remonstrances of his father, who urged that such irregularities would dishonour his crown, and diminish the respect and

\* Mr. Stanhope's dispatch to lord Carteret, April 15, 1724. *Harrington Papers.*

affection of his people. This docility afforded a presage, that when he had attained the age of reflection, and his understanding was matured by experience, he would not disappoint the predilection with which he was regarded by the nation.

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Louis was married to Elizabeth, third daughter of the regent duke of Orleans, before she had attained the age of twelve, no less contrary to his own inclinations, than to those of the spanish nation. She united, indeed, elegance of manners and vivacity of temper, with great personal accomplishments, and was endowed with qualities which might have rendered her the delight of her husband, and the ornament of his throne: had not an unprincipled education, and the scenes of a vicious court, corrupted her morals, and depraved her heart. Although so young when she quitted France, she had been brought up in the profligate school of her father. Misled by the dissolute conduct of her two elder sisters the duchess of Berry and mademoiselle de Valois, she was insensible to the comforts, and indifferent to the duties of domestic life; regardless of the dignity of her character and station, and wanting only opportunities to imitate the licentiousness which she had witnessed at Paris.

1722.

Even at the moment of her arrival at Madrid, she gave proofs of an unaccommodating and

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capricious temper by secluding herself in her apartment, under pretence of indisposition, and not only declining to testify any respect towards the queen, but repulsing her attentions with disdain. She refused to appear at a ball given in honour of her marriage, and behaved to her husband with studied indifference.\* Time, the representations of her attendants, and the commands of Philip, so far over-ruled her wayward fancies, that she preserved decorum in public, and treated her husband with attention and respect. But the abdication of Philip had no sooner released her from restraint, than her caprices returned with redoubled force. She again gave way to contempt for her consort, ridiculed that etiquette which had been sanctioned by ages, and scandalised a grave court and punctilious nation, by her indiscreet if not licentious behaviour.

With the hope of subduing or restraining her spirit, king Louis at the instigation of his father was induced to mortify her by some public mark of disgrace. He conveyed the order in a letter to her camerara-mayor, the countess of Altamira.

“The disorderly conduct of the queen being highly prejudicial to her health, and no less

\* See St. Simon's curious account of her capricious behaviour, and the kind but unavailing attentions of the queen. T. 8, lib. 5, c. 5.

degrading to her royal dignity, I have endeavoured to prevent it by remonstrances; and in my anxiety for her amendment, I even prevailed on my pious father to admonish her with great severity. But perceiving no change, I am resolved she shall not sleep this night at the palace in the city; and I hereby require you, and the persons whom I have selected for the purpose, to employ every requisite care for her accommodation and precious health.”\*

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As she returned to the Buen Retiro, from an evening excursion in the Prado, her coach was stopped at the gate, and ordered to proceed to the Alcazar, or old palace, in the city. Demanding the reason, she was told “such is the king’s pleasure.” She burst into a transport of rage, repeatedly exclaiming “to Buen Retiro!” but the mayor domo, who was charged with the order, interfering, she was conveyed by force, and confined to her apartment with a few select attendants, under a strong guard. Her arrest was then announced in a circular letter to the foreign ministers.

After a strict confinement of six days, she was visited by marshal Tessé the french ambassador, whose age and character, it was hoped, would make some impression on her volatile mind, when depressed by disgrace and confinement.

\* Stanhope’s dispatch.

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In this interview, she frankly acknowledged that half the imputations against her were true, but as strenuously maintained that the other half were false. Without attempting to deny her follies and irregularities, she made the most solemn asseverations that nothing criminal could be imputed to her. She expressed contrition for her past misconduct, promised future amendment, and entreated the forgiveness of her husband.

The young king was satisfied with this reparation, and after dismissing seventeen female attendants who had abetted her imprudence, permitted her to return to the Buen Retiro. He went out to meet her in the terrace near the Puente verde; and as she alighted and attempted to kiss his hand, prevented her by the salutation of peace. He received her into his own carriage, and seemed anxious to make amends for the publicity of her disgrace by marks equally public of his returning affection.

Notwithstanding this apparent reconciliation, the mutual dislike of the royal couple was undiminished. The king's aversion to his consort was so deeply rooted that he never consummated his marriage; and Philip himself, so scrupulous in his moral conduct, felt for the domestic afflictions of his son. After requesting with tears his forgiveness for promoting so ill assorted an union, and for bestowing on him a wife, whom he so


justly disliked, he declared that his conscience perpetually reproached him for the temptations to which he had thus given cause. CHAP. 34.  
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Philip and the queen affected to believe that their daughter in law was insane, and secretly determined to obtain a divorce. As Tessé did not oppose the design, and as the duke of Bourbon was desirous at once to mortify the rival House of Orleans, and raise his own sister to the throne of Spain, arrangements were made for sounding the sentiments of the pope. In the interim, Louis was directed to preserve the exterior of complacency towards his consort, as well from a regard to decorum, as to prevent suspicions.\*

While the young monarch was thus afflicted with domestic troubles, his public situation was scarcely more enviable; for he supported all the weight, without the authority, of the crown which had been prematurely placed on his head.

\* The account of the misunderstanding between Louis and his queen, of her arrest and imprisonment, and the subsequent design to obtain a divorce, is taken from Mr. Stanhope's dispatches to lord Carteret, April 15, and to the duke of Newcastle, July 26, and August 10, 1724. As he received his intelligence from Tessé himself, as well as from several officers of the royal household, there can be no doubt of its authenticity. St. Philippe has given a circumstantial narrative of this event; but he has intermixed many anecdotes and rumours, not sufficiently proved, which are corrected by Stanhope's relation. T. 4, p. 187, 192.—See also *Memoires de St. Simon*, t. 8, ch. 5,—*de Richelieu*, t. 3, ch. 30,—*de Tessé*, t. 2, ch. 14.—*Ortiz*, lib. 23, c. 9.

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Having been generally excluded from a share in the administration of affairs, and little versed either in the details of internal government, or in the management of foreign transactions, his youth and inexperience rendered him utterly incapable of directing the state machine. Indeed the administration appointed, and the forms prescribed by the abdicated king, proved that he still held the real authority; and that the orders which were to convulse or pacify Europe, emanated not from the cabinet of the ostensible sovereign, but from that of St. Ildefonso.

After the formalities of the abdication, Philip and his queen retired to St. Ildefonso, with their minister and favourite, Grimaldo. The new administration was nominally vested in a junta or cabinet council, composed of seven members; but no precaution was omitted to select such as were either devoted to Philip, the adherents of the queen and Grimaldo, or persons of too little talents and weight to act without a superior direction.

The marquis of Mirabal, after representing his sovereign in Holland, though with little diplomatic ability, had filled for a considerable period the high office of president of Castile, of which he had formerly been auditor. He was a man of good sense, experience and application, and since the dismissal of Alberoni had acquired a

considerable share in the government, through his friendship with d'Aubenton and Grimaldo. From the countenance and support which he received from the abdicated monarch, as well as from the consideration annexed to his employment, he was considered as the leading member of the administration, and at the commencement of the new reign assumed a degree of superiority which excited the discontent of his colleagues. In other respects he fostered the aversion of a true spaniard towards France, and regarded England as the natural ally of his country.

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The archbishop of Toledo, the son of a blacksmith at Gibraltar, was scarcely less mean in political talents than in extraction, though of irreproachable morals. His zeal for the bourbon cause, and services in Catalonia during the war of the succession, raised him from a canonry to a bishopric. Finally, for his elevation to the primacy, he was indebted to the intrigues of the jesuits, who were anxious to place at the head of the spanish church, a prelate subservient to the views and interests of their order.

The bishop of Pampeluna, who held the post of grand inquisitor, was distinguished only for his knowledge of the canon law ; ignorant of the world, and a novice in the management of public affairs.

Don Michael de Guerra had profited by the



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advantages of foreign travel and official employment. He had successively filled the offices of chancellor of Milan, minister in France, and for a short time that of president of Castile and the finances. He was, however, according to the observation of Mr. Stanhope, rather a cunning than an able man, though possessing considerable knowledge of the laws of Spain. Being attacked with a fit of the palsy which rendered his speech scarcely intelligible, he had for a time retired from business. The effects of this attack, joined to the infirmities of advanced age, precluded him from a constant attendance in the cabinet council; but being the brother of the queen's confessor, he was naturally considered as under her peculiar controul.

The marquis of Valero, president of the Indies, was a man of ordinary capacity. He had recently filled the viceroyalty of Mexico, and returning to Spain loaded with the riches of the new world, obtained patronage at court by splendid presents to the royal family; and by announcing a resolution to nominate the reigning monarch, then prince of Asturias, his heir.

The count of San Estevan del Puerto, lord high-chamberlain, was the same nobleman who has been frequently distinguished in the preceding pages among the partisans of the House of Bourbon. His nomination was a mere form,

because he was now absent at the congress of Cambray as one of the plenipotentiaries of Spain.

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The most remarkable, and indeed the most efficient member of this motley cabinet, next to Mirabal, was the marquis of Ledé, a native of Flanders, president of the council of war, and distinguished for military talents. He was diligent, active, and perspicuous in business, patient of contradiction, yet firm to his purpose; and, unlike his spanish associates, devoting himself with zeal and alacrity to the duties of his employment. He was a man of great probity and prudence, and from gratitude for past favours was considered as devoted to the old court. Professedly adverse to the House of Austria, he was favourably inclined towards France without being an enemy to England.\*

The most remarkable members of the administration who did not hold a place in the cabinet, were the two brothers, the marquis of Castelar, and Don Joseph Patiño, both devoted to France, and secretly hostile to Grimaldo; and Don Ferdinand Verdes de Montenegro, head of the finances, who owed his appointment to the influence of Mirabal.

The acting chiefs of the different departments were the same persons as under the former government, and either attached to Philip or

\* Mr. Stanhope to lord Carteret, March 23, 1724.

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his ministers ; but the connecting link between the old and new cabinets was Don Baptista Orendayn, who was appointed both secretary for foreign affairs, and secretary of the junta. This minister, afterwards better known under the title of the marquis de la Paz, had risen from the menial office of page to Grimaldo, to that of his under secretary, and was suddenly transferred to the post which he now held, occupying in reality the same situation under another name. Deficient in talents and dignity for his new employment, his principal merit was the plodding drudgery of a mere clerk, and the absolute devotion which he had hitherto shewn to his benefactor.

The secretary for the marine and Indies, was Don Antonio Sopeña, of whom we can trace nothing but the name and appointment.

From the inefficient characters of some members of the new administration, and the dependence of others on the old court, together with the youth, docility, and inexperience of Louis, the government was still evidently directed by the same hands, and the management of affairs was vested in Grimaldo, who, from long exercise in office, and from the confidence reposed in him by the abdicated sovereign, was alone capable of continuing the negotiations of the congress at Cambray, and arranging the complicated disputes between Spain, Austria, and the other powers of

Europe. He in reality was as much prime minister, as before the change of government, and, by his daily instructions and communications, directed all the operations of Orendayn. Nor did he affect to conceal his power; for, in the first visit of Tessé to St. Ildefonso, he triumphantly observed, "king Philip is not dead, nor am I."\*

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If, indeed, any proof were wanting of the real principles and prime mover of the government, it might be found in the measures pursued with regard to the establishment of Don Carlos. Too impatient to wait for the tardy proceedings of a congress, and the chances of an eventual succession, the queen formed the resolution of sending her son into Italy, as presumptive heir to Parma and Tuscany. This proposal was combated by every member of the new cabinet; but their opposition was disregarded, and measures adopted to carry it into execution, with the connivance of France and the maritime powers.

This new scheme, like almost every plan of this restless and aspiring woman, introduced a new actor on the political theatre, the marquis of Monteleon. He had long distinguished himself in the diplomatic line, and was greatly trusted in the secret policy of his court. Deputed as envoy to England, during the negotiations for the peace of Utrecht, he appears to have been

\* *Memoires de Tessé*, t. 2, p. 352.

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gained by the tory ministry of queen Anne, and, on the accession of George the first, still adhering to their party, he became so obnoxious to the whigs, that, as we have already observed, Mr. Stanhope extorted from Alberoni the promise of his recal. Being, however, too useful an agent to be lightly sacrificed, he continued in his post till dismissed by the government, in consequence of the rupture. After a short retreat to the Hague, he returned to London, with the title of ambassador, on the accession of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance, and dexterously conforming himself to circumstances, gained the favour of the ministry, to whom he was before so obnoxious.

Monteleon appeared at Madrid at the moment of the abdication. With that quick and accurate discernment, which is the fruit of long experience in political intrigues, he discovered that the new government was a mere shadow, and that the real power was still vested in the cabinet of St. Ildefonso. Sanguine, adroit, and aspiring, he devoted himself to the court, which afforded the fairest prospect of advancement. He acquired the powerful interest of Donna Laura, by submitting to an unequal match between his eldest son and her daughter. He flattered the views of Philip on the throne of France; he applied with equal success to the ruling passion of the queen, and by dint of officious interference, and a parade


of his influence in England, wrought himself into a commission, at this time of the most important kind, that of agent for negotiating the measures to promote the accession of Don Carlos to the Italian duchies. His conversations with Mr. Stanhope on this and other subjects throw a new light on the situation of the two courts, which were now beginning their course of political rivalry.

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“ In his conduct here,” writes the minister, “ Monteleon not only publicly professes, but in all his actions shews an entire attachment to the court of St. Ildefonso, and industriously avoids even the appearance of having any dependence on the court or ministers of Madrid, of both which he gave a convincing proof a few days after his arrival. The young queen gave a dinner to the ladies of her court at the Retiro, to which the two daughters of Donna Laura, sole favourite of king Philip’s queen, were invited, (one of whom was lately married to Monteleon’s son), and going to sit down at her table with the rest of the ladies in the same employment, namely, Señoras de Honor, were ordered to remove to another, by the queen herself, aloud, on pretence of their having been *cameristas*, or women of the bed chamber, to the former queen. On being told of this circumstance, he answered publicly, he was glad of it, and wanted only two

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or three more such affronts to his family to make his fortune. For his devoted attachment to the court of St. Ildefonso, he has several reasons. He is persuaded that the whole authority of the government is still lodged there; he looks upon his interests as secure, by the great credit of Donna Laura with the queen; he considers the young king and cabinet as mere cyphers; and every one of the latter as so exceedingly jealous of him, that if they had any authority, they would employ it against him. He has few personal friends; but superior capacity and experience makes him universally esteemed; and, though he industriously preserves his resolution of accepting no employment whatever in Spain, no one, in any of the higher posts, thinks himself secure, while the destination of Monteleon remains undetermined.

“ He has informed me, that, during his abode at St. Ildefonso, where he remained three weeks, and was received in the most gracious manner, he had daily audiences of their catholic majesties. In all these, his chief view was to convince them how advantageous and even necessary it was, for the good of their affairs, and those of the rest of Europe, that the strictest union should be maintained between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain; as being that upon which the assurance of Don Carlos's succession to Tuscany chiefly,

if not entirely, depended. He even insinuated that the friendship of England, for which he pledged himself, might be of the greatest use to them, in case an opportunity should present itself of executing, in favour of one of the infants, their pretensions to the crown of France.

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\* \* \* \* \*

“ These reasonings, he assured me, his catholic majesty heard with great seeming satisfaction and approbation, particularly those relating to the succession of France. King Philip, whenever that matter was touched upon, constantly replied, he saw clearly, and was convinced of the great advantage which our master’s friendship might be to him, as well as to the passage of the infant Don Carlos into Italy, and the security of his person and succession there. He says, he presented a plan at St. Ildefonso, which was drawn up there by king Philip’s order, setting forth the steps necessary to be taken for these purposes.”

The substance of this plan, after some partial changes, suggested by the queen, was, that Don Carlos should be sent to Italy, with the approbation of France and England, and declared and acknowledged successor to Tuscany and Parma, on conditions calculated to gratify the reigning sovereign, and his sister, the electress palatine. The design was approved by Grimaldo ;



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and, though opposed by Mirabal, to whom it was communicated, in order to obtain the sanction of the new government, his objections were disregarded. \* \* \* \* \*

“ I have nothing,” continues Mr. Stanhope, “ to add in relation to Monteleon, but that he is in daily expectation of seeing his project approved, and, in consequence, of receiving orders to set out for Italy, taking London and Paris in his way. In all events, he seems determined not to accept of any employment here for the present ; and, as a proof of this, he assures me, that it depended on himself only to have been already declared first minister, king Philip having several times proposed and even pressed it to him. His reason for not accepting that employment, is the almost impossibility he foresees of continuing in it long, in the present situation of affairs here, without drawing upon himself the displeasure of one of the two kings ; that of the father, in case he governs not himself expressly in every thing by the orders he shall receive from St. Ildefonso ; as in so doing, he must in a little time expect that of the son, who, he is persuaded, will by degrees withdraw himself from the dependence and submission he at present acquiesces under. Marshal Tessé has confirmed to me what Monteleon says as to his having been offered the

place of first minister ; and both of them seem persuaded, that in a very short time that place will be filled, it being impossible for matters to continue long in the confusion they are at present in, from the want of a visible authority. The persons most likely to be appointed for that employment, are the president of Castile, and the marquis of Grimaldo, but more especially the latter, in case king Philip consents to part with him."

The suggestions of Monteleon being adopted, the title of Grand Prince was given to the infant. The insinuating statesman was selected to carry his own project into execution, with a salary of July 28. 5,000 pistoles, and the credentials of ambassador extraordinary to the princes of Italy, and the courts of France and England, for arranging the affairs of Don Carlos.

While, however, the queen dowager was ardently pursuing her own designs with indifference and even contempt towards the government of the young king, a schism was already commencing between the two courts.

Notwithstanding all the sagacity which had been employed in forming the new administration, it was not in the power of art to change the constitution of human nature. The junta had scarcely tasted the sweets of ostensible authority, before they aspired to substantial power, and

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were eager to shake off the yoke imposed by their patrons of St. Ildefonso. Two parties were speedily formed in this heterogeneous council, one for Louis, the other for Philip. But the distinction was little more than a name; for, though some affected to wear the appearance of attachment to the former sovereign, all naturally turned their eyes from the setting to the rising sun. In general, the courtiers were gradually relaxing in their attentions to the abdicated monarch; and the nation was as favourably disposed towards a spanish king and spanish cabinet, as disgusted with the italian government of their parmesan queen. Finally, the whole court anxiously watched for the moment when Louis should display the slightest inclination to throw off his dependence, and omitted neither intrigue or artifice to encourage him to assume a degree of authority becoming his station.

Fortunately for Philip, Louis himself did not shew the least regard or application to business, and placed his sole confidence in the count of Altamira, his camerero mayor, who, himself without spirit or ambition, was not calculated to give umbrage to the jealous cabinet of St. Ildefonso.


The government was thus without any visible chief; and in many instances foreign ministers found it necessary to make similar applications to both courts, to avoid giving umbrage to either.

No person of consideration or abilities was yet, however, found to assume a part, which might ultimately draw down the displeasure of both monarchs; and the members of the junta, at once to exculpate themselves, and to acquire popularity, publicly declared that they were mere cyphers. “It is better,” they said, “that the world should see we are without power, than blame us for misconduct and negligence.” The whole system of government naturally became the object of universal contempt, and even Tessé himself asserted, that this farce, *of king and no king*, could not long subsist.\*

In spite of the docile character of Louis, means were at length found to turn his agency against the court of St. Ildefonso. With a view to supersede the authority of the abdicated monarch, the junta, by a new arrangement of business, attempted to limit the controul exercised over their deliberations by Orendayn and Grimaldo. Reviving the custom which prevailed under the later sovereigns of the austrian dynasty, they divided among themselves the transactions with foreign powers, each taking a peculiar and distinct department, and making his report to the whole body. They thus excluded the secretary of state from all public share in foreign affairs, and reduced him to the situation of a mere reporter of

\* Memoires de Tessé, t. 2, ch. 14.

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their deliberations.\* This measure appeared a death blow to the authority of Philip. When the news was communicated at Versailles, marshal Villars could not refrain from exclaiming, “Adieu, court of St. Ildefonso; you will be lucky to be assured of a regular supply of your daily meals!”†

All the address of Grimaldo, and all the art of the queen, were called forth to parry the effects of this dangerous blow. An order was obtained from Louis, empowering Orendayn to receive from each member separately the report of his particular department, and lay it before the king for the regular dispatch of business. The collective force of the junta was thus broken, and the secretary of state, by becoming the direct channel of communication with the sovereign, was enabled to turn the reports according to his own views, and to regulate his conduct by the mandates which emanated from the oracle of St. Ildefonso.


Though foiled, the governing party in the junta were not discouraged. Clothing their opposition with the plausible pretext of the public weal, they expatiated on the dilapidated state of the revenue, and the inadequacy of the receipt

\* Mr. Stanhope to Lord Carteret, Madrid, March 23, 1724.

† “Adieu, la cour de St. Ildefonse. Elle sera heureuse si son diner et son souper sont bien assurés.” *Mem. de Villars*, t. 3, p. 123.—Mr. Walpole to Lord Townshend, Paris, April 1, 1724. *Walpole Papers*.

to the current expences. They, therefore, proposed to curtail the establishments of the two infants, and obtained a royal order reducing them to such an allowance as was barely sufficient for their maintenance. A warm remonstrance, however, from St. Ildefonso, inducing the docile monarch to retract, he not only continued the salaries assigned to his brothers, but even took on himself the additional charge of their equipages and tables.


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A new and more decisive attack was then planned against the abdicated sovereign himself. Recurring as before to the dilapidated state of the finances, the leading members of the junta exaggerated the sums which Philip had appropriated before his retreat, and the existing expences of his establishment, and recommended a reduction of his pension. Although this proposal was adroitly clothed with the same plausible pretence, it shocked the feelings of the young monarch ; he not only refused to authorise such an insult, but even communicated the attempt to his father.

In matters less directly clashing with his filial feelings, Louis was more easily swayed. He granted several pensions, and filled various places in the council, with persons not agreeable to the old court. Accordingly Mirabal was instructed to watch over his conduct, and hints were given

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to moderate his bounty, and revoke his appointments.\*

Thus urged on one hand by the intrigues of those who were aiming at power, and restrained on the other by respect which time and habit must gradually diminish, the period could not have been far distant, when Louis would be tempted to unite the real to the nominal authority; when either the son must have descended from the throne, or the father have changed his nominal for a real renunciation of power, if not his retreat for imprisonment. Fortunately, however, for the tranquillity of Spain and the safety of Philip, such a dangerous crisis was prevented by the death of Louis.


Aug. 31.

He was seized on the 19th of August with a malignant small pox, which being unskilfully treated, hurried him to the grave in twelve days, in the eighteenth year of his age, and the eighth month of his nominal reign. During his illness, the court of St. Ildefonso remained in a mixed state of agitation, anxiety, and alarm. But he was no sooner pronounced in danger, than Philip determined to resume the crown. With this view he caused an instrument to be prepared for the young king's signature, constituting him his heir, and empowering him to make his will. This document was presented to Louis, the

\* St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 266.

evening before his death, and signed by him though then in a state of delirium ; and, however informal, became the authority on which Philip founded the first measures adopted after the decease of his son.

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On that event, the marquis of Mirabal, president of the council of Castile and chief of the regency, announced the intelligence to Philip, and requested his instant presence in the capital. He accordingly quitted his retreat, gave audience to Mirabal, who met him at Campillo, entered Madrid with all the ensigns of royalty, transacted business with the secretary of state, and issued the necessary orders.

Philip was induced to believe, from the representations of Tessé and his attendants, that the nation unanimously looked forward to his resumption of the crown as the greatest blessing, and that his right was indisputable. But so solemn a renunciation, sanctified by a deliberate vow, registered by the council of Castile, and ratified by the highest civil authorities, could not be set aside with as little formality as the mere transfer of a crown from one prince to another ; and therefore Philip thought proper to demand the advice of the council of Castile.

It is difficult to ascertain the nature of the opposition raised in that body to his wishes ; but it is clear that there was a strong party even in



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his own household and court, and in the nation, adverse to a resumption of the crown in his own right. Indeed the leading members did not scruple to acknowledge to Mr. Stanhope, that they were *individually* against the resumption, from a conviction of Philip's incapacity, and the queen's ambition. Of this party, one of the most zealous was the marquis of Mirabal himself, who under the pretext of attachment to Philip exerted all the influence of his high office to prevent the resumption; and under the guise of advice, presented the objections to the measure, both political and religious, in the strongest light. His views were furthered by the confessor Bermudez, who, either from conviction, or interest, dwelt on these objections as insuperable, and represented the resumption as a sin of the deepest dye. From the same motives, Mirabal deferred convening the council till the fourth day after the death of Louis: and though he could not prevent his colleagues from concurring in a request to Philip to reascend the vacant throne; yet in their *consulta* or report, all the objections are again studiously detailed, and presented in the most forcible language.

This artful report, strengthened by the reflections of the confessor, made the deepest impression on a superstitious mind: Philip instantly dismissed his guards, saying, "I am not worthy of such

marks of sovereign power till my conscience is perfectly satisfied." He therefore submitted the report of the council to a junta of divines, who assembled in the convent of the jesuits. This body, probably swayed by the confessor, declared against the resumption, and suggested as an alternative, that Philip should assume the government as regent for his son Ferdinand, the next in order of succession. Philip, who had anticipated a more favourable answer, was mortified with the decision. In the first emotions of anger and disappointment he declared that he would accept neither crown nor regency, and gave orders for his immediate return to St. Ildefonso.

The queen was still more enraged than Philip, because she was incited by every motive of self-interest, inclination, and ambition, to replace him on the throne. She had felt from recent experience, that the mere expected reversion was but an imperfect compensation for the actual possession of a crown. She had learnt to dread the mischiefs attending a divided government; she foresaw that a cabinet council at Madrid would not long submit to be directed by a mandate from St. Ildefonso; she perceived that the elevation of another step-son, and the continuance of a ministry purely spanish, would prove fatal to her plans for the aggrandisement of her own children.

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She therefore omitted no endeavour to vanquish the real or affected reluctance of Philip, and to counteract the machinations of those who, under the semblance of zeal and affection for his conscience and honour, were labouring to obstruct his return to authority. She reproached Bermudez, to whom she principally attributed the scruples of Philip, accused him of perfidy, called him, in the presence of the king, a traitor, another Judas ; and declared, that if at the point of death, she would rather depart without the blessing of the sacraments, than receive them at the hands of such a wretch. She encouraged the petulance of her favourite Donna Laura, to whom age, situation, and long habit, had given the privilege of speaking with freedom and familiarity. This woman, no less violent than her mistress, apostrophised Philip : “ Are you not ashamed to submit to the controul of this wicked wretch, to abandon your country to the dangers of a minority, to intrust the government to a junta who will annihilate the royal authority ! ” The queen, affecting to interfere, with the remark “ You will kill the king ! ” the indignant beldame rejoined, “ Let him die ! It is only the loss of one man ; but if he abandons the government, his people, his children, and his monarchy, are all lost ! ” \*

\* Memoires de Villars, t. 3, p. 143, 4. — de Tessé, t. 2, p. 366.

Perceiving that all her remonstrances, supported by the representations of Grimaldo, were not sufficient to outweigh the arguments of the confessor and the decision of the divines; the queen had recourse to Tessé, whose long attachment and advanced age gave him great influence over the mind of Philip. The marshal not only employed the trite argument against the validity of renunciations and oaths, when placed in competition with the public weal; but declared that the french government would no longer treat with Philip except as king of Spain; that if his fatal resolution was maintained, he would himself withdraw from a court where he could render no further service.

The queen found other resources to counteract the machinations of her opponents, and even turned against them that authority which they had employed with such mortifying success. She induced Philip to refer the decision of the divines to the council of Castile, and drew from the council a strong censure against it, accompanied with a new request to resume the crown. She gave additional weight to this advice by procuring another decision from divines of different principles. She did not hesitate to call to her assistance the highest authority in the church. Having summoned the papal nuntio from his sick apartment, where he had been long confined,

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she excited him, by every motive which her fertile genius could suggest, to join in removing the scruples of the king. The nuntio was more flexible than a spanish confessor, backed by spanish divines. He obtained an audience of Philip, and detailed all the arguments which could be drawn from a concern for the welfare of his family and the glory of the catholic religion. These producing some effect, he added, "The pope\* made a vow never to accept the papacy; but he thought himself bound in conscience to break a hasty engagement for the sake of the public good. His holiness, I am convinced, would approve a similar conduct in your majesty, did time permit me to appeal to his opinion. I am satisfied he would even enjoin your majesty to acquiesce in the general wish. Convinced, as I am, of the necessity and justice of the case, I make myself answerable before God for the breach of your majesty's renunciation and vows."†

So impressive a discourse, delivered by so high an authority, swayed a monarch who was desirous of being convinced. Philip industriously pub-


\* Benedict XIII, recently chosen on the death of Innocent XIII, March 13, 1724.

† Dispatch of Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, Madrid, Sept. 9, 1724.

The reader will find the two consultas of the council of Castile, and the report of the junta of divines, in St. Philippe, t. 4. appendix.

lished the arguments of the nuntio, and, on the 6th of September, issued a decree to the council of Castile; declaring that, as natural lord and proprietor of the crown, he again took into his hands the reins of government, and sacrificed his own happiness for the advantage of his subjects. To save appearances, he reserved to himself the power of resigning in favour of his son Don Ferdinand, when he came of age, provided it should not be productive of too great inconveniences. He concluded by promising to summon the cortes to acknowledge Don Ferdinand prince of Asturias, and tender him the accustomed homage as successor to the crown.\*

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The queen expressed the most immoderate joy at her success. She was not only gratified with recovering a crown, the value of which was enhanced to a mind like hers by a temporary deprivation, but she thus gained a considerable advantage in favour of her own views, as well as those of her husband, on the throne of France. She gave a new instance of the nullity of the most solemn engagements when put in competition with personal inclination or political interest, and accustomed the powers of Europe to regard with indifference the breach of vows and renunciations.

\* Ortiz, lib. 33, c. 9, 10.—Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 4.—de Tessé.—Villars.

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The death of Louis saved his queen from the humiliation of a divorce. She regained the favour of the king and nation by the most affectionate attentions to her husband; though she had never had the disorder which hurried him to the grave. She caught the infection; but the strength of her constitution, and more skilful treatment, saved her life. For a short time, she continued in Spain with the accustomed appointments of a widowed queen; and Tessé even proposed a marriage between her and Don Ferdinand. But she was disgusted with the restraints of spanish etiquette; and by the agency of her mother, the duchess of Orleans, obtained from Philip and Louis the fifteenth permission to return to France. Her departure was hastened by the subsequent disputes between the two courts.

For a time she resided in the palace of Luxemburg, and maintained a splendid establishment by means of the annual pension which was remitted to her from Spain. But her gallantries occasioned public scandal, and she was obliged to dismiss a part of her houshold. As she filled the vacant places without regard to the privileges and remonstrances of the prince of Rubec, who retained the title of her mayor domo, he complained to the court of Madrid, and obtained an order enjoining her to accept the persons whom

he should nominate. The high spirited princess resenting this attempt to controul her in the choice of her own household, dismissed the mayor domo. The court of Madrid accordingly withheld the payment of her pension, and she retired into the nunnery of the Carmelites, where she occupied the same apartments to which her sister, the duchess of Berri, repaired, in her temporary transitions from licentious amours to acts of penance and contrition. Here she continued, depending on the occasional bounties of the spanish court, and compensating for her former irregularities by a life of retirement and devotion, and died in 1742, of a dropsy.\*

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\* Memoires de Richelieu, t. 3, p. 259.—Tessé, t. 2, p. 370.—Ortiz, t. 7, p. 379.




## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FIFTH.

1725.

*Acknowledgment of Don Ferdinand as prince of Asturias—Cabals on the expected changes in the government—Removal of the junta—Disgrace of Mirubal and Lede—Diminution of the credit of Grimaldo, and rise of Orendayn—Change of policy in Spain—Overtures to the emperor—Account of Ripperda—His plans of political economy—Negotiations at Vienna—Dismission of the infantina from France, and marriage of Louis the fifteenth with Maria Letzinski—Indignation of the king and queen—Their ineffectual overtures to England—Conclusion of an alliance with the court of Vienna.*

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**PHILIP** having resumed the crown as if no renunciation had been made, with the tacit consent of the nation, convened the third branch of the cortes, in the church of St. Geronimo del Prado, and, in the same manner and form as on the nomination of Don Louis, procured their acknowledgment of Don Ferdinand as his successor.\*

Immediately after the public resumption of the crown, Philip, with his queen and minister, retired to St. Ildefonso, and remained in perfect seclusion for forty days, to avoid the infection of the small pox, of which the young queen had

\* Desormeaux, t. 4, p. 391, 393.—St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 201.—Ortiz, t. 7, p. 281.

sickened. In this interval of suspense, an active struggle took place among the different candidates for power, as well as between the contending partisans of France and England.

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Grimaldo, as nearest to the royal person, first felt the effects of this political rivalry. He was again attacked by Tessé and the french party, who accused him of receiving bribes from England, and of partiality to the maritime powers. Even the queen seems to have transferred her confidence to Orendayn, who, according to the usual custom of court dependants, betrayed the confidence of his benefactor, and endeavoured to supplant him. Long habit, together with the sense which Philip entertained of his merit, diligence, and usefulness, prevented the disgrace of Grimaldo; but these representations did not fail to produce a considerable diminution of his influence.

After the expiration of the forty days, Philip returned to the Escorial to receive the homage of his court, and regulate the arrangements in the administration which the late intrigues and changes had rendered necessary. His displeasure was first shewn against all who had evinced too zealous an attachment to the late sovereign, or too much anxiety to prevent his own resumption. Among these the most distinguished was Mirabal.

Mr. Keene, at this time resident at Madrid as

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agent of the South Sea Company, describes this revolution with the exactness of an eye witness. "Two days before the king came to Madrid, he ordered Montenegro to be removed from his place of secretary and intendant of the finances;\* and sent to Ciudad Rodrigo, to be kept in a convent belonging to the knights of Alcantara, under pretext of mal-administration. His disgrace foreboded that of the president of Castile, who had raised him, and placed him in that profitable post. Orendayn was appointed by Grimaldo to dispatch the treasury in his place, to keep him employed, and as content as he was able."

"Two days after, the president of Castile, who had so long enjoyed the king's good graces, and had as much influence over him as any of his ministers, was notified to resign his office; but was made a counsellor of state, and a pension of a thousand ducats assigned to him, to comfort a fallen minister. He had of late observed some decay in his interest, and intended only to offer to lay down his employ, and at the same time to have made a recapitulation of his services, the better to move his majesty, and refix himself. But his enemies had notice of his design, and persuaded the king to send his quietus, before he

\* St. Philippe has disclosed the real cause of his disgrace, which was his obeying the orders of Louis, in preference to the arrangements of Philip, prior to his abdication. T. 4, p. 306.

could have an opportunity of an audience, which as president of Castile he has a right to every Friday.

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“ A courier was immediately dispatched to the bishop of Sigüenza to succeed him. He was formerly chancellor of Milan ; then auditor of the Rota ; has lived the greater part of his time in Italy, and in his own see since he came to Spain ; so that he is free from the brigues or dependencies of this court, and has not as yet listed himself into any party, nor been employed in any other negotiation than what directly regards the execution of his office.

“ I have been the more particular on the president's fall, because it shews the present reigning interest in Spain, which is the queen's. She seems resolved to revenge herself on all those who were tepid, or appeared to be so, in persuading the king to re-accept the crown ; and to take the wise precaution to remove them, lest he should relapse into the same reveries. Marshal Tessé is made use of to lessen their esteem with the king, and employ his emissaries to throw dirt on them in public before they design to give the stroke. This is the game he is now playing with Grimaldo, and has filled the town with stories of pensions from England, &c. So that I am apprehensive we shall shortly see they will have some effect on the king's suspicious temper, or

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else cost the marquis so much pains and trouble to support himself, that as he is pretty well advanced in years, he will sooner chuse to yield to them and retire.

“ I have observed Orendayn’s circle at court to be full as numerous as Grimaldo’s. He, it seems, has made a merit of having refused some offers from the english in king Louis’s reign, and is at present the favourite of the french, and the hope of the jacobites. The marshal would, as I am credibly informed, have lately presented him with a ring, which he refused to accept till he had the queen’s commands for so doing, and wore it at their ceremonies.”\*

The next sacrifice was the marquis of Lede. When he presented himself to kiss the hand of his sovereign, Philip reproached him with ingratitude, by sternly observing, “ From you, Sir, I never expected such behaviour.” The humbled courtier retired in confusion, and soon fell a victim to chagrin and disappointed ambition.†

Philip continued the other ministers, reinstated Grimaldo in the office of secretary for foreign affairs, and honoured him with the golden fleece. But Orendayn was appointed secretary of the finances, with the superintendence of the general

Jan. 11.

\* Mr. Keene to Mr. Horace Walpole, Madrid, Jan. 26, 1725. Walpole Papers.

† St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 167.

affairs of state, whenever Grimaldo was prevented from fulfilling his duty by age and frequent infirmities. This was in effect preparing Orendayn for the reversion of the most important office in the administration.

Philip had no sooner restored order in his domestic government, than he turned his attention to foreign affairs, and resumed the complicated negotiation which was scarcely commenced at the moment of his abdication. The congress of Cambray had indeed continued the sittings during the short reign of Louis ; but the business was principally confined to matters of etiquette and to entertainments, without unravelling a single thread of the gordian knot. However, the discussions soon degenerated into the former cavils and disputes ; and the attention of the congress was less occupied with the subjects referred to decision by the articles of the Quadruple Alliance, than with the abolition of the Ostend company, and the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction promulgated by Charles the sixth.

Meanwhile, the darling negotiation of the queen had been indirectly carried on by the agency of Monteleon ; but his sanguine imagination had built too confidently on the support of the mediating powers. France, England, and Holland positively refused to co-operate in the forcible admission of the spanish prince in Italy ;

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and at the moment when the revolution in the government opened the fairest career to his active and enterprising genius, he was detained at Paris on an irksome and unprofitable mission.

At length the impatience of Elizabeth Farnese terminated this farce of negotiation. Vexed with the jealousies of the mediating powers, indignant at the lukewarmness of France, from whom she had anticipated a cordial support ; above all, mortified and chagrined to find the offer of Gibraltar a mere illusion, and foiled in her plans for the immediate establishment of her son, she turned to the emperor himself, not merely to escape from the labyrinth in which she was entangled ; but with the hope of drawing from him more essential advantages for the establishment of her children, than she could expect from the lukewarm mediation of France and England.

The emperor was speedily apprised of this change of sentiment, and was impelled by similar motives to free himself from the irksome mediation of France and the maritime powers, from the latter of whom he was alienated by the endless disputes relative to the commerce and government of the Netherlands. He first employed the intervention of the pope to sound the disposition of the spanish court ; and, when assured that his overtures would be favourably received, he made a direct application to the

queen, and flattered her ruling passion for the aggrandisement of her family.\*

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The agent of this new and singular operation in policy was a counter-part of Alberoni, without his superior talents as a statesman, whose sudden rise and rapid disgrace form a memorable epoch in the reign of Philip.

John William, baron, and afterwards duke, of Ripperda, was descended from a noble family, originally spanish, which had settled in the Netherlands while dependent on the spanish crown. He was born in the lordship of Groningen, about 1665,† and is said to have received his education in the jesuits' college at Cologne. After distinguishing himself as a classical scholar, he embraced the military profession, and at the close of the war of the succession had attained the rank of colonel. In the intervals of military duty, he acquired an extensive knowledge of modern languages; and deeming the theory of trade and manufactures the most effectual instrument of promotion in a commercial country, he successfully applied himself to those branches of political œconomy.

At this period, he increased his fortune by espousing a rich heiress of Holland, and became

\* House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 8.

† In the short period of his ministry, Montgon says, he was about sixty.



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a representative of his province in the states general. He brought himself into notice during the congress of Utrecht, and in consequence of his commercial knowledge, was deputed as envoy to Madrid, to terminate the complicated disputes between Spain and the dutch republic. In this capacity he rendered essential service to the english ministers, and was rewarded with valuable presents. He at the same time devoted himself to the service of the emperor, to whom he became known by an acquaintance with prince Eugene, and was recompensed with an annual pension. His insinuating address, his knowledge of manufactures and commerce, his fertile genius, and acquaintance with languages, particularly the spanish, had early attracted the notice of Alberoni, then labouring for his own rise. Ripperda acquired the favour and confidence of so discerning a statesman, by supplying him with projects of political œconomy, and was consequently employed in affairs of the most delicate nature, particularly in those branches which had been the object of his study and meditation.

With these qualifications and advantages, Ripperda was at once the spy and agent of the imperial and british courts, and a servant of Spain, while he remained the ostensible representative of the dutch republic. Extravagant in

his style of living, he was little scrupulous in acquiring money, and was bold and artful enough to obtain 1,4000 pistoles from the british court, by employing the name of Alberoni himself, as a reward for the signature of the commercial treaty.\* His deceptions were not, however, immediately detected, or were overlooked in consideration of his talents and services; for he continued to rise in the esteem and confidence of Alberoni, and assisted in accelerating his nomination as minister.†

The elevation of his patron, and the splendid hopes inspired by the fortune of foreigners in Spain, induced Ripperda to lay down his ministry, and naturalise himself in a country which may be called the paradise of adventurers. His distinguished talents and aspiring character began to awaken the jealousy of Alberoni, who urged his religion as an insuperable obstacle to his being employed in the service of the catholic king. But such objections were too trifling to baffle an enterprising and little scrupulous politician; and he compassed his design with the art of a consummate courtier. He found means to

\* Mr. Dodington mentions the payment of this sum to Ripperda, on the behalf of Alberoni, and Mr. Stanhope afterwards discovered that it was converted to his own use.

† Account of Ripperda by the sicilian abbots, from whom we learn that he suggested to Alberoni, the proper moment for assuming the administration, by the influence of the queen.

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represent to the king, that the great virtues of his majesty had made an edifying impression on his heart, and that he was irresistibly moved to embrace a religion which would at once secure his own salvation, and enable him to devote himself to the service of so great, so pious, and so beneficent a monarch. The duty of nature, he said, obliged him to secure a competence for the support of himself and his family; but he trusted in the generosity of the king to make him some compensation for the sacrifice of his friends and country. He hinted that his studies had qualified him to superintend the manufactory at Guadalaxara, which had been established at his own suggestion.

His representations were attended with effect. His solemn abjuration was received; and he was appointed superintendant, with a grant of lands, and a house which formerly belonged to the admiral of Castile.

Well acquainted with the proper sources of court favour, Ripperda, by the emperor's influence, obtained recommendations from the duke of Parma to the queen, and carefully copied the successful example of Alberoni. The rapid improvement of the manufactory under his auspices, and the skilful use which he made of his familiar intercourse with the king and queen, redoubled the jealousy of the minister, who was

alarmed to see this adroit and enterprising foreigner tread so closely in his own footsteps, and he was removed from his superintendancy. He, however, dissembled his resentment, affected ignorance of the quarter from which the blow was struck, and redoubled his attentions to Alberoni. But at the same time, he entered into connections with Grimaldo and d'Aubenton, and by those secret channels of communication which he well knew how to command, continued to present to the king plans and memorials adverse to the system, and exposing the errors of the minister.

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These representations, and the verification of many of his predictions, made a due impression, and gained him the reputation of singular foresight and intelligence. Accordingly, on the disgrace of Alberoni, he was not only restored to his former station with additional honour, but made superintendant general of all the manufactures in Spain, and took up his residence at Segovia, where he lived in a style of great magnificence. Being now a widower, he increased his connections in Spain, by espousing a castilian lady of noble family.

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He continued to support his credit by new plans and suggestions for the improvement of trade, and the increase of the revenue, and ingratiated himself with the queen, by recom-

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mending an intimate connection with the emperor as the most effectual expedient for aggrandising her family, and for marrying her son Don Carlos to one of the archduchesses. He now aspired to a share in the administration, and was on the point of succeeding, when he was foiled by the united influence of d'Aubenton and Grimaldo, who, after employing him to overthrow Alberoni, became jealous of his superiority, and represented the danger of confiding the reins of government to a new convert. Ripperda therefore turned his attacks against Grimaldo, and in a series of memorials exaggerated his errors, and detailed the mischiefs flowing from his impolitic devotion to the english court, at a time when England was peculiarly obnoxious. The death of d'Aubenton removing his most powerful enemy, he was on the point of triumphing over the opposition of Grimaldo, when the retreat of Philip suddenly over-clouded his brilliant prospects.

During the temporary seclusion of Philip, he improved the good opinion of the queen, and became her secret and confidential adviser. With the return of the king to the government, he emerged suddenly into new favour ; and from his connections with the imperial court, was selected to negotiate that union with the House of Austria, which he had himself originally suggested and uniformly recommended.

Ripperda was furnished with authority and instructions to conclude a peace with the emperor, to negotiate a marriage between Don Ferdinand and the youngest archduchess, if he could secure the Netherlands and italian territories as her dowry, and to obtain the reversion of Tuscany and Parma for Don Carlos. These were the conditions which were probably settled with Philip, while he was charged with private orders from the queen to arrange a marriage between the eldest archduchess and Don Carlos, whose intended union with mademoiselle de Beaujolois, fourth daughter of the duke of Orleans, was in consequence to be annulled.

Before his departure, our political adventurer made a bold and adroit attempt to secure the post of prime minister on his return. He presented an extensive and splendid plan for the renovation of the spanish monarchy. He developed the means of improving the american trade, creating a powerful marine, and augmenting the public revenue; he interspersed his plans with invectives against the peculation of preceding ministers and the encroachments of foreign nations on the spanish trade and territory.

It may not, perhaps, be displeasing to the reader, to present the outline of a project which was intended to form the groundwork of his own

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administration, and evidently suggested many beneficial improvements to succeeding ministers.

To eradicate the contraband trade to the West Indies, he proposed to establish a number of small light squadrons, amounting in the whole to eight ships of the line, ten frigates, and twelve gallies, so stationed as to range the whole coast of Southern America. To these were to be added a land force of 5,000 foot, and 1,000 horse, the object of which was to expel the english from their possessions and encroachments. To defray the expence, the militia duty, which was become useless, was to be commuted for a particular tax on each province, and an additional contribution of 5 per cent. was to be levied on all employments and pensions in those countries. The deficiency was to be supplied by appropriating the revenues of vacant sees and benefices.

This was to serve as the foundation to a new and efficient system of commerce, which was divided under three heads, the asiento of negroes, contraband, and the trade from Spain, by Cadiz, to the Indies.

If the asiento could not be wrested from the english without a war, they were to be harassed till they should voluntarily relinquish it as vexatious and unprofitable. For this purpose, their passports were to be delayed, that they might not

reach the West Indies till after the arrival of the flota and galleons, and after the periodical fairs. Private orders were to be given to all principal officers not to consume foreign, particularly english, manufactures, to lessen their estimation among the people, and, under the pretence of search, to exercise every species of vexation. The south sea company was also to be deprived of every indulgence not specifically included in the peace of Utrecht; to have no warehouses on the north sea; to be prohibited from selling except at the fairs, where they would incur a certain loss; and all natives who should lend their names to the english, were to be punished with death. The acquiescence of England was anticipated; because, on the slightest complaint, Spain would be provided with a naval and military force to subjugate her colonies.

With regard to the second branch, or contraband, the king was to revive his antient and exclusive right of trading to the american colonies, that, under the pretext of smuggling, a constant cause might be adduced for seizing all foreign ships in the indian seas, even on their passage. But, while the utmost rigour was to be used towards the english, as the nation most benefited by this lucrative traffic, the dutch were to be adroitly lured with indulgences, to prevent the two maritime and trading nations from



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uniting in defence of their common interest. Thus, it was urged, the colonies of other countries, in this part of the western world, no longer enriched by the stream of treasure which continually flowed from the adjacent continent, would speedily be abandoned as an useless charge, or yield to the first attack of the spanish arms.

The regulations for the trade from Spain tended to annihilate the commerce of the english and all other nations considered as not friendly. Returns were to be made of the goods sent to America ; and measures adopted that such articles as could not be furnished by the mother country, should be drawn from friendly nations, though without a public prohibition of english commodities. To supply the deficiency, foreign manufacturers were to be invited to settle in Spain. By a perseverance in these and similar measures the downfall of the english commerce was predicted in less than two years.

Ripperda proposed to send with each flota twelve royal ships loaded, and twelve galleons ; and to keep two galleons constantly at Cadiz, and two at Buenos Ayres to serve in subsequent voyages. The expence of this armament would, it was calculated, be defrayed by the freight ; because the merchants would naturally give the preference to king's ships well manned. This regulation would furnish a considerable force,

with skilful mariners and able officers accustomed to the Indian seas. In case of a war, these flotas and galleons united, would form a fleet of twenty four ships of war, and might speedily be joined by an additional force of fifty sail of the line.

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He laboured also to shew the high importance of the Philippine Isles in a commercial view ; and urged that an advantageous trade might be opened through this channel between Spain and the east. In support of his arguments, he added, that when he was permitted to examine the books of the dutch East India Company, he found accounts of great presents to the spanish ministers, for permission to trade with these islands, and export the silver brought from Mexico. He therefore proposed the formation of a spanish company trading to the Philippines. The ships of this company were to sail from Cadiz to the South Sea, to distribute a part of their lading in Chili in exchange for silver and other native productions, and from thence proceed to the Philippines. This merchandize being disposed of in the ports of China, Siam, and the adjacent regions, to purchase spices and other eastern commodities, they were again to direct their course to Chili, and exchange their cargoes for silver, to be brought back to Spain. Thus he calculated that Spain would speedily

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appropriate the commerce both of their own territories and their own Indies, to the exclusion of interlopers, and even obtain a considerable share in the rich trade of the east.

As the means for securing this extensive maritime commerce, a well fortified dock-yard and arsenal were to be formed at Ferrol, as the station for the squadrons destined to cruise in the summer, to protect the american fleets, and watch the english. This project, besides ensuring the execution of the preceding plans, would keep the british nation in constant alarm, inflame the popular discontents; and, by the augmentation it must necessarily occasion in the public burdens, would contribute, with the decrease of trade, to the downfall of a power on the ruins of which alone Spain could hope to restore the edifice of her antient grandeur.

In addition to the plans for the improvement of the indian commerce, a factory was to be established at Ferrol, to trade to the northern countries, and establish fisheries. This, it was calculated, would maintain 20,000 families of mariners, and deprive the english of above a million of crowns, which they annually drew from Spain.

He also proposed to issue orders excluding foreign articles of wool, silk, &c. in proportion

as such manufactures should be naturalised ; and the king and court were to set the example in the consumption of home fabrics.

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As the means of giving energy and movement to this extensive system, he suggested the plan of a bank at Madrid, which was to allow five per cent. interest on all deposits of money. To form the fund, he proposed to transfer to it the treasure called St. Justus, for the relief of widows and orphans ; and all the property of ecclesiastical establishments, intended for the purchase of additional revenues.

By the combined operation of all these causes he confidently predicted such an augmentation of the national industry, population, and revenue, as would enable the king to maintain an army of 130,000 men, with a fleet of an hundred ships and frigates, and would furnish an annual surplus amounting to 2,000,000 crowns.\*

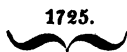
Such plausible and magnificent plans, proposed by a man whose predictions had been so verified, joined to a keen sense of resentment against England and France, captivated the

\* These notices relative to the early life and plans of Ripperda, are principally taken from interesting documents communicated to the british court by the sicilian abbots.

Account of the rise and plans of Ripperda, and the means of preventing their ill effects. Account of the means by which Ripperda ingratiated himself with their catholic majesties. MSS. in the Walpole Papers, translated from the original spanish, and communicated to Mr. Walpole at Paris, Oct. 1, 1797.

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romantic imagination of Philip. He promised the sanguine projector, that on his return from his mission he should be raised to the supreme direction of affairs ; and empowered to effect that regeneration which he had so skilfully planned for his adopted country.

With this assurance, Ripperda departed from Madrid, and after a rapid and secret journey, arrived at Vienna *incognito* in November. To evade the prying eyes of the foreign ministers, and of those who were interested to thwart his design, he took up his residence in the suburbs under the name of baron Pfaffenburg, and held his conferences nightly with count Sinzendorf, the imperial chancellor. He continued this secret agency, unnoticed by all the vigilance of political jealousy, above three months, and, before any certain knowledge could be gained of his person or object, had nearly fulfilled his mission. He seems even to have been lured by the imperial court, with the hope of a marriage between the eldest archduchess Maria Theresa and Don Carlos.

When thus far matured, the design encountered the strongest opposition from the empress, from the archduchess herself, who was attached to the duke of Lorraine, and the ministers, who were devoted to the antient system of austrian policy. But the agent of Spain, supplied with

immense sums, did not spare his largesses. Even the emperor himself did not blush to encourage this venal traffic by his own example. Of all the austrian ministers, Eugene alone maintained his integrity, and every obstacle seemed to be gradually diminishing under the powerful influence of money.\*

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At this juncture an unexpected incident swept away the remaining objections of the spanish court, and precipitated the conclusion of this singular and mysterious negotiation.

The duke of Bourbon, as prime minister of France, was actuated by different principles, both political and personal, from those which had induced the regent duke of Orleans to reunite the spanish and french branches of the bourbon family. Personally obnoxious to the House of Orleans, he was anxious to prevent its eventual succession, in case of the death of the young king. Hence he formed the design of dissolving the compact of marriage which had been concluded for Louis the fifteenth; because the youth of the intended bride delayed for several years the hope of a direct successor. He long

\* According to Mr. Stanhope's dispatches, the sums distributed by Ripperda in the interval from July to Sept. 1725, amounted to no less than 570,000 pistoles. Mr. Stanhope to Lord Townshend, Nov. 2, 1725. Also St. Saphorin's Notices sur la Cour de Vienne; and dispatches to the british court, while their agent at Vienna. Walpole Papers.

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deliberated in what manner to take so delicate a step; and under various pretences, deferred the ceremony of betrothing, which was to have been performed when the infanta had attained her seventh year.

In the midst of his hesitation, a dangerous illness of the young king alarmed the nation with the prospect of a disputed succession.\* Of this sentiment the duke of Bourbon promptly availed himself. After various attempts to discover a princess of proper rank and mature age, he selected Maria, the daughter of Stanislaus Letzinski, titular king of Poland. This point being settled, he obtained the consent of the young king; and to prevent any opposition from the court of Madrid, it was decided to send back the infanta without previous notice, but with an apology urging the necessity of the case.

However secret this design was kept, either political jealousy, or private intimations awakened the suspicions of the spanish court; the importunities of the queen not only extorted repeated and solemn disavowals, but a promise that the ceremony of betrothing should speedily take place. The plan being matured, Tessé was recalled, and the communication of the unwelcome intelligence was intrusted to an humbler agent, the abbot de Livry, who was detached

\* St. Simon, t. 8, p. 198.—Richelieu, t. 4, ch. 6.

from his embassy of Portugal, as a minister well qualified by sedateness of temper and acquaintance with the court of Madrid for so delicate a commission. He reached Madrid, ignorant of the real motive of his appointment, and was overwhelmed with concern and terror at the communication of the orders with which he was charged. He was directed to demand an audience, and deliver the letters of excuse from the king and the duke of Bourbon, without any previous hint of their contents, that a pretext might not be found to refuse receiving them. But his mind was too deeply agitated to fulfil the injunction. When presented, he fell on his knees, burst into tears, and betrayed his errand by a confused apology.\* The effect was such as might have been expected from sovereigns so ardent in their temper, and so affectionately attached to their children. The letters were indignantly rejected, and the queen, tearing a picture of Louis the fifteenth from her bracelet, trampled it under foot, exclaiming, "All the bourbons are a race of devils!" But recollecting the relationship of her husband, she turned to him, and added, "except your majesty."† The french minister, confounded and dispirited, was dis-

\* Memoires de Montgon, t. 1, p. 16.—Stanhope's and Keene's dispatches.

† Account of Ripperda by the sicilian abbots.



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1725. and contempt.

In the first struggle of contending passions, the secret was not divulged, though the unusual agitation of the sovereigns, and the despondency of Livry himself, created suspicion. At length, when the intelligence arrived from Paris, and could no longer be concealed, their smothered resentment burst forth with redoubled fury. The minister and every french consul were ordered to depart without delay. Philip declared that all the blood of Spain could not sufficiently avenge the insult, and announced his resolution never to be reconciled to France till the duke of Bourbon had repaired to Madrid, and solicited pardon on his knees. The indignation of the monarch spread rapidly among a nation peculiarly delicate on points of personal honour; for it required all the vigilance of the government to prevent a general massacre of the french in the capital. All public connection was broken off between the two courts; and before the arrival of the infanta, the widow of Louis and mademoiselle de Beaujolois were sent back to France.\*

In the first burst of resentment, the violence of the queen extorted from Philip a decree for the departure of every frenchman, without exception.

\* Account of Ripperda. by the two sicilian abbots.—St. Philippe, t. 4, p. 216—223.—Ortiz, t. 7, lib. 28, c. 10.


On reflection, however, he became sensible of the injustice and even impracticability of this order, and adopted a whimsical expedient to pacify his imperious consort. Calling his valets, he made them open his wardrobes, and prepare his trunks as if for a journey. The queen entering amidst the bustle, demanded the cause of such preparations. "Is it not decreed," asked Philip, "that all the french should leave Spain? I am a frenchman, and therefore am preparing for my journey." This ludicrous expedient was more effectual than serious remonstrances; the queen smiled, and the order was countermanded.\*

Philip and the queen immediately sent for the english ambassador, Mr. Stanhope. They recapitulated all the irritating circumstances of the indignity which they had suffered, and inveighed against the duke of Bourbon, for aggravating the outrage by his duplicity. Though in the presence of a public minister, the queen could not restrain her natural impetuosity. "This one-eyed scoundrel,"† she exclaimed, "has sent back my daughter because the king would not create the husband of his harlot a grandee of Spain!" Philip, with more decorum, added, "I am resolved to separate myself for ever from

\* From Burgoing, to whom the anecdote was communicated by one of the valets de chambre. T. 2, p. 116—Note.

† Alluding to the duke of Bourbon, who was blind of an eye.

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France, which, instead of weakening, will, I trust, strengthen the bands of amity between Spain and England. I will place my whole friendship and confidence in your sovereign, and will command my plenipotentiaries at Cambray to reject the interposition of France, and submit the arrangement of my disputes with the emperor to the sole mediation of Great Britain."

Too impatient, however, to wait for a reply to the overture, Philip ordered Ripperda to abandon all the contested points which had retarded his negotiation. He entered also into a treaty for a double marriage with the family of Portugal, to unite Don Ferdinand with the infanta Barbara, and the intended queen of France with the prince of Brazil; while the queen dispatched a pressing injuncion to Ripperda to conclude the match between Don Carlos and the eldest archduchess.

George the first declining the overture, and not only refusing to dissolve his connection with France, but urging the necessity of her support to defend Spain against the emperor, Philip turned his resentment against England. He reiterated his commands to Ripperda to hasten an accommodation; and broke up the congress of Cambray by recalling his plenipotentiaries.

The emperor was equally hostile to France and equally dissatisfied with England. The dis-

putes therefore between two rival sovereigns, who for so many years had agitated Europe with their wars and intrigues, were terminated in a few conferences; and an alliance suddenly took place between these two inveterate and personal enemies, for the advancement of their mutual interest, and the gratification of their common resentment.\*

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\* Letters from St. Saphorin, minister at Vienna, to the british court; from Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, March 10 and 20, 1725. Mr. Keene, March 18, 1725.—*Memoires de Montgon*, t. 1, passim.—*History of the House of Austria*.—*Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole*.

## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SIXTH.

1726.

*Substance of the three treaties concluded by Ripperda at Vienna—His departure and arrival in Spain—His indiscreet and violent conversations—Honourable reception at Madrid—Entrusted with the sole administration of affairs.*

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THE impatience of the spanish court was soon gratified ; for within six weeks after the dismissal of the infanta, all Europe was alarmed with the disclosure of a treaty between Spain and the emperor, which had been concluded at Vienna on the 30th of April.

This engagement confirmed in general all the articles of the Quadruple Alliance. Both sovereigns renewed their former renunciations, but agreed to bear the titles which they had respectively assumed during their lives. The emperor confirmed the eventual investiture of the italian duchies ; while Philip abandoned all ulterior pretensions to the territories dismembered from Spain, at the peace of Utrecht, as well as his protection of the italian states, and relin-

quished his title to the reversion of Sicily for that of Sardinia. But the most important article was the guaranty of the succession established in Spain, by the emperor, and the counter guaranty of the pragmatic sanction by Philip. On the 1st of May, the emperor, in the name of the germanic body, signed a new treaty, approving the arrangements for the succession of Parma and Tuscany; and on the 20th of July it received the confirmation of the diet.

Another treaty was signed on the 1st of May, relative to commercial arrangements. The king of Spain sanctioned the company of Ostend, agreed to protect the subjects of the emperor in their trade to the East Indies, granted them free ingress and egress in all his ports, allowed them the same commercial privileges as were enjoyed by the most favoured nations, and, to gratify the states of the empire, extended to the Hans Towns the same advantages. To give additional effect to this arrangement, and enable the manufacturers and merchants of the Netherlands and the hereditary countries to maintain a successful competition with those of England and Holland, a design was formed to establish a new list of duties in their favour, by which their contributions were diminished one half.\*

\* Account of Ripperda, by the sicilian abbots.

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A secret treaty was signed at the same time, which, though, according to the diplomatic phrase, called a treaty of defence, was in reality an offensive alliance: It contained a new guaranty of their respective dominions, a specification of the contingent to be furnished by each, in case of an attack, and an engagement to support each other if necessary with their whole force. The emperor pledged his good offices to obtain the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca, and private and ulterior engagements were evidently arranged, if not actually signed, against the possessions and tranquillity of Great Britain.\*

\* From the mystery attending this transaction, much discussion has arisen on the subject of these secret articles. We have already dilated too amply on this subject in another work, to bring it again before the reader in the present. It is, therefore, sufficient to observe, that, according to all the proofs which the case admits, and which we think sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced mind, these secret engagements comprised the forcible recovery of Gibraltar, and the restoration of the exiled family, should England refuse to comply with the demands of the Vienna allies. We barely recapitulate a part of these engagements, as communicated by the sicilian abbots, of whose accurate information, and favour with Philip, we have adduced many proofs in this work; and, if more were necessary, more may be found in the testimony of Montgon, at that time himself high in the royal confidence. Montgon, t. 3, p. 64, t. 5, p. 108. 137.

"ART. 5. Their cesarean and catholic majesties, foreseeing that the king of England will oppose the execution of such designs, as well in regard to his particular interests, as not to lose his empire-ship in Europe, for which reason he will undoubtedly engage the english nation, and unite the dutch and other princes in his league, they oblige themselves to seek all methods to restore the Pre-

In announcing these treaties to the court of Madrid, Ripperda conveyed the most solemn assurances on the part of the emperor, that he would bestow his eldest daughter in marriage on Don Carlos, assist in the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca by force, and concur in the hostile designs of Philip against England and France. The glad tidings were received at Madrid with transports of joy; the sanguine imagination of Philip was inflamed, and he fondly hoped that the time was arrived to retaliate for past mortifications, and gratify his disappointed ambition. The treaty of peace was first published,

tender to the throne of Great Britain, to which end, the catholic king was to make use of the pretence of the restitution of Gibraltar, which he was to demand immediately, as soon as the peace of Vienna was published." *Memoirs of lord Walpole*, c. 14.

We cannot, however, omit to introduce a curious anecdote, communicated by count Rottembourg to Mr. Walpole, which carries with it all the evidence that the tacit avowal of Philip and his queen themselves can afford.

"Count Rottembourg mentioned a very remarkable thing. In speaking of me to their catholic majesties, he told them, I had wrote Mr. Keene word in one of my private letters, that I had such an opinion of their veracity, that if it was possible to ask them the question, and they would declare there was no other treaty between the emperor and Spain, than that which was public, I would freely own that all the measures taken by England were wrong and unjustifiable. Having said this to their catholic majesties, they made him no manner of answer; and, observing their countenances, the queen looked upon the ground, and the king coloured extremely. But her catholic majesty having recovered herself, said to the king, Sir, you never did make any treaty against England. The king, however, continued silent, and said nothing." *Mr. Walpole to the duke of Newcastle*, Paris, May 4, N. S. 1728.



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that of commerce next divulged; the other engagements were, for a time, veiled in mysterious secrecy, and known only from the vaunts of Ripperda, and the exultation and imperious demands of the court of Madrid. The services of Orendayn, who had conducted the correspondence, were rewarded with the title of marquis de la Paz, and proofs of increasing favour; and Ripperda, immediately raised to the rank of a duke, was made a grandee on his return to Madrid.\*

The circumstances of this negotiation drew the attention of the powers more immediately interested. In consequence of the public boasts of Ripperda, that England should be compelled to restore Gibraltar and Minorca, Mr. Stanhope demanded an explicit avowal, whether this declaration was made by authority from the king of Spain. Philip and the secretary Grimaldo did not at first hesitate to disavow the minister; but at the moment when Mr. Stanhope was preparing to transmit the intelligence to his court, he received a note from Grimaldo, requiring the *immediate restitution of Gibraltar*, as the only expedient to avert a rupture. Astonished at such prevarication, he demanded an audience, respectfully remonstrated against the precipitancy of the demand, and represented that it was

\* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 386.

previously necessary to obtain the consent of parliament, which could not be assembled till the return of the king, then in Hanover. He was interrupted by the queen: "No!" she exclaimed, with her usual vivacity, "Then let the king your master return instantly to England, and summon a parliament, a measure we have a right to expect, from his repeated offers of friendship. I am fully convinced that the proposal would not meet with a single negative in either house. To give more weight to the demand, let this short argument be used; either relinquish Gibraltar, or your trade to the Indies; the question will not admit of a moment's dispute or delay."\*

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In consequence of the information which the british court had already received, concerning the secret engagements between those of Madrid and Vienna, this imperious and insulting demand was repelled with proper dignity. An immediate declaration was also obtained from France, Aug. 16. announcing a resolution to concur in proper measures for maintaining the british nation in the possession of Gibraltar, and the enjoyment of their commercial privileges.†

Both Austria and Spain immediately made

\* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 34.—Mr. Stanhope to lord Townshend, Aug. 6, 1725.

† State of the Negotiations with Spain, from the Treaty of Vienna to December, 1727.

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active preparations for war, and Philip flattered himself that this union would enable him to give law to Europe. He encouraged his partisans in France, caballed against the duke of Bourbon, and joined with the emperor to form a party in favour of the Pretender, both in England and on the continent. They acquired a preponderance in the north, by gaining Russia; they hoped, by the treasures of Spain and the imperial influence, to obtain a majority in the empire; and the marquis of St. Philip was dispatched to secure the acquiescence of the dutch.

The alliance of Vienna, joined to the active cabals, mysterious threats, and hostile preparations of the two powers, excited all the alarm which they expected to create, but did not, as they hoped, deter England and France from opposing force to force. Common danger produced an intimate union, and they were soon joined by many of the minor powers who were equally threatened or alarmed. The result of their concurring efforts and negotiations was the celebrated alliance of Hanover between England, France, and Prussia, which formed a counterpoise to the alliance of Vienna. The bond of this union was a defensive treaty for the mutual protection of each other's dominions and possessions; with a common engagement against the Ostend company, and the other commercial pro-

jects of Spain and the emperor, by a general renewal and confirmation of all prior treaties of commerce.\*

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Europe was now divided into two great parties by the efforts of the rival powers to increase the force of their respective alliances ; and every court within the sphere of their influence was agitated by their intrigues and bribes, and other artifices of diplomatic warfare.

While the commotion was rapidly spreading around, the principal agent of this great political revolution emerged from his retreat, and assumed the state and honours of an ambassador of the highest rank. Naturally vain and loquacious, his indiscretion was increased by the pride of success : even on the most public occasions, he expatiated on the mighty effects which would result from the formidable alliance of the two most powerful courts in Christendom.

His arrangements being completed, he left his son Louis, then only nineteen years of age, as chargé d'affaires ; and quitted Vienna without deigning to take the customary leave of the public ministers. Accompanied by only a single attendant, he hastened back to receive the honours and rewards which awaited him in his adopted country. Even on his journey, he could not refrain from indulging a vanity equally puerile

\* Bousset, t. 2, p. 129. — Koch, t. 2, p. 40, 43.

CHAP. 36. and imprudent. At Genoa, he was received with  
1726. unusual honours; and in the extravagance of  
his exultation, indulged himself in the same  
boasts as at Vienna.

On landing at Barcelona, he detailed to the officers of the garrison, who crowded to pay their respects, an ample account of his mission, and of its successful result. The emperor, he said, had an army of 150,000 men, ready to march without delay. At the moment of his departure from Vienna, prince Eugene bade him assure the king, his master, that in case of a war, as many more would be ready to obey the orders of Spain in six months; and the emperor himself in the strongest terms announced his resolution to support the king of Spain with his whole force, should he be reduced to declare war, in order to obtain the restitution of Gibraltar.\* He spoke with the utmost contempt of the duke of Bourbon and the french government. "Should the Hanover allies," he exclaimed, "dare to oppose the designs of the emperor and Spain, that great grenadier the king of Prussia shall be driven from his throne; George the first stripped of his territories in the empire in a single campaign, and his english throne filled by the rightful heir, James the third. Never shall a reconciliation take place

\* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, 4to, v. 2, p. 580.

while I have any influence; and could I only live till that event, I should have no doubt of attaining an advanced age.”\* CHAP. 36.  
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Anxious to convey the grateful intelligence of his success, he rode like an ordinary courier, and arrived at Madrid in the afternoon of the 11th of December. Conscious that he was authorised to overstep all the punctilios of spanish etiquette, after a momentary interview with his wife, he hurried directly to the palace in his traveller's apparel. On reaching the anti-chamber he was informed that the king and queen were engaged with Grimaldo. He expressed his impatience at this trifling delay; and when the secretary quitted the cabinet, he did not condescend to notice a minister whom he had already doomed to disgrace. His arrival being announced to the king and queen, he was welcomed with unusual kindness; and in a long audience detailed his recent transactions, and developed his future designs.†

Honours and rewards now showered on our political adventurer. On the following morning he was declared secretary of state for foreign affairs in the room of Grimaldo; and an order

\* Mr. Stanhope to lord Townshend, Dec. 27, 1735.—Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, 4to, v. 2, p. 275.

† Montgon, t. 1, p. 205.

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issued to the other ministers and foreign ambassadors, to make their communications to him alone, announced that, like Alberoni, he was raised to the place of prime minister. It is needless to particularise the successive promotions which marked his rapid career. In the short space of two months he concentrated in himself not only the departments of war, marine, finance, and the Indies, but even the revision and superintendence of the courts of justice.\*

If the conduct and language of Ripperda were before equally unbecoming and indecorous, he became still more insolent when basking in the full sunshine of royal favour. It was his favourite and almost continual topic of discourse to extol the strength of the emperor and Spain, which, if united, he said, would not only counterbalance all the other powers of Europe, but would suffice to chastise those who should presume to resist them. The Pretender, he repeated, should be established on the throne of England; weakness and divisions in the government would reduce France to neutrality; the parliament of England would never be induced to sanction a war with Spain, nor the dutch to accede to the Hanover alliance; while his own superior

\* *Memoirs de Montgon*, t. 1, p. 207.—*Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole*, ch. 35.—*Ortiz*, t. 7, lib. 23, c. 10. Account of Ripperda, &c. by the sicilian abbots.

credit and fertile resources would draw from Spain whatever sums he should want or desire.

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The court easily caught the confidence and presumption of the minister, and announced the conclusion of an offensive alliance with the emperor, in terms which shewed their expectation of intimidating Europe.\*

\* Stanhope's dispatches.—Montgon, t. 1, passim.



## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SEVENTH.

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*Administration of Ripperda—His ineffectual attempts to intimidate and afterwards to divide the maritime powers and France—Difficulties of his situation—Failure of his promises to the imperial court—Disputes with Konigsegg the imperial ambassador—Attacks of his enemies—Loses the favour of the king and queen—Disgrace—Takes refuge in the hotel of the english ambassador—Discloses the secrets of the spanish cabinet—Arrest and imprisonment in the castle of Segovia—Subsequent adventures—Change of administration.*

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**SUPPORTED** by royal favour, and swollen with his native presumption, Ripperda prepared to carry into execution the splendid projects for which he had been chosen to guide the helm of state. The sanguine hope, which naturally attends a change of government, prevailed to a high degree both in the court and nation: the favourite of the day was hailed in the glowing language of spanish romance, as a new planet rising in the political horizon, as the harbinger of peace and prosperity to a troubled world. He himself flattered the general prepossession by his own confidence; by displaying the presumption of one who felt the vast extent of his own

abilities and resources, who was fully assured of fulfilling all the promises which he had lavished on the sovereign and the nation. He represented himself as appointed to change the antiquated and defective system of spanish polity ; to purge the courts of justice ; to reform every department of state ; to break the commercial fetters imposed on the country by the maritime powers ; to revive the splendour of that people who had once given law to Europe, and whose energies had been depressed by the vices, ignorance, and misconduct of preceding administrations.

Elevated expectations are however inseparably united with disappointment and contempt ; and never was an unfortunate projector more completely deluded by his own sanguine imagination than Ripperda. Amidst the illusions of extraordinary success and airy favour, he had not calculated the strength of interested opposition, even to the most beneficial designs ; he had widely over-rated his own abilities ; he had ill appreciated the obstacles arising from the character of the people, the circumstances of the country, and his own personal situation ; he had fondly hoped to realise in an hour that which could only be attained by a long course of successful years. Above all, he little suspected, that even before his return from Vienna, effec-

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tual means had been employed to arm against him the prejudices of the king. The suspicious diffidence of Philip, who never gave his full confidence to any minister, induced him to submit the projects of Ripperda to the sicilian abbots, and to others from whom he was accustomed to receive secret advice. This communication was fatal to their author. Besides exposing and exaggerating the defects and errors in his plans, these private advisers excited the jealousy which Philip entertained of his prerogative ; and deterred him from confiding to the new minister that extensive power which was necessary for carrying them into execution.\*

Ripperda had as widely mistaken the temper and principles of the queen. He was ill calculated and ill prepared to sway a princess, haughty and impetuous, who pursued her designs with inflexible perseverance ; who spurned at delay or restraint, and would not suffer the most important considerations to interfere with her prejudices or personal interests.

Thus circumstanced, Ripperda, in assuming the government, was loaded with honours, titles, and all the external appearances of authority ; but without the solid power possessed by Alberoni. He was suspected by the king, harrassed by the impatience of the queen, detested by the

\* Account of Ripperda by the sicilian abbots.

grandeos, thwarted and exposed by those whom he had displaced, and surrounded by a host of enemies, without the means to baffle their vigilance or repel their hostilities.

In the very outset of his career he encountered an insurmountable obstacle to the discharge of the subsidies which he had promised to the emperor. By the constant drains of incessant wars, the great extent of the current expences, and the enormous sums already transmitted to Vienna, the royal treasury was completely exhausted. The salaries of the household and civil officers were in arrears; even the army, which had been augmented to 80,000 men, was ill paid, and wanting every necessary article of equipment. The people were oppressed with taxes which were difficult to be raised; while the trade and industry of the nation suffered under a general stagnation of credit, in consequence of the disputes with France and the maritime powers.

In the midst of these embarrassments, count Konigseg arrived at Madrid, as ambassador from the emperor, and was welcomed with extravagant marks of favour and exultation. It was naturally supposed that the presence of an ambassador from Vienna would consolidate the influence of the minister who had originally formed the connection between the two courts.

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But such was the situation of Spain and the emperor, and such the circumstances of Ripperda himself, that this very incident increased his difficulties ; and, amidst the general joy which welcomed the arrival of Konigseg, the countenance of the minister was clouded with doubt and apprehension.\*

In spite of the lavish promises made Ripperda, and the artifices of the austrian court, it now appeared that far from being anxious to hasten the promised marriage, the emperor was deterred by the opposition of the german princes, and only sought to gain plausible pretexts for delay. It was likewise evident that his military preparations were far from being so extensive or mature as Ripperda had inconsiderately represented ; and that instead of dictating to the Hanover allies in the empire and the north, he had the mortification to see their influence triumphant in every quarter.

Ripperda was irritated and harrassed by the incessant importunities of the imperial ambassador for pecuniary assistance, to subsidise the catholic princes of the empire, and give energy to the preparations of the emperor. To elude these importunities, he was forced to allege excuses on excuses, to urge the impoverished state of the treasury ; and with difficulty obtained

\* *Memoires de Montgon*, t. 1, p. 290.




a respite, till the arrival of the periodical supplies which were expected from America.

With these endless causes of discontent and irritation, the intercourse of the two ministers became daily less cordial, and finally terminated in a state of covert hostility. Still, however, the interest of both to deceive the queen protracted an open rupture. Konigseg amused her with professions and apologies on the part of his sovereign; while Ripperda adopted the most vigorous measures to allay the cupidity of the imperial court. To obtain a temporary supply, he made a sweeping reform in every branch of administration, discharged hosts of clerks and officers, and levied contributions on the farmers of the revenue, the viceroys, and others who had filled lucrative offices, under the pretence of peculation. He raised the value of the gold coin, and resorted to a measure equivalent to that of closing the exchequer in England, the suspension of all pensions and payments. Such rigorous measures were sufficient to rouse the popular indignation at any period, and at the present they were more keenly resented, because they were introduced by an upstart foreigner, and appeared as the first fruits of that alliance from which such benefits had been expected, but which had proved the fertile source of innumerable mischiefs.

Conscious of his difficulties, yet anxious to

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satisfy the expectations he had raised, Ripperda endeavoured to supply his want of strength by vaunts, threats, and ostentation. With this view, he induced Philip to address a letter to the states general, apprising them that he was obliged to assist the emperor in case of a war, and to avenge the wrongs he might receive from his enemies. That he would make a common cause with his imperial majesty in all things, and by all things, and declare war against all who should engage in hostilities against him, holding the enemies of the emperor for his own, and being fully assured of a return equally zealous on his part.\*

With a similar hope, Ripperda employed a different expedient to alarm England. With affected confidence, he communicated to the british minister a part of the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna, relating to the engagement of Spain to support the company of Ostend, and the reciprocal promise of the emperor to assist in recovering Gibraltar by good offices, or by force, if necessary. He detailed the means devised for carrying these designs into execution; he said the emperor was to send 30,000 men into Spain; and added, with an implied threat against England, that he would employ as many more, at the charge of the king, *wherever such a force*

\* Historical Register, 1726, p. 40.

*was deemed necessary to promote the objects of the alliance.\**

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Not content with mere threats, he planned an expedition against the british isles, in favour of the exiled family. Affecting to apprehend an attack on the northern coasts of Spain, he collected 12,000 men in Galicia, under the command of Don Louis de Cordova, equipped six men of war at Cadiz, under the pretext of a voyage to the West Indies, and ordered some russian ships, which had reached the coasts of Spain, to the northern ports, to concur in the enterprise.†


To supply the expences of the armament, he proposed to appropriate the charitable fund of St. Justus, amounting to 9,000,000 dollars; under the promise of future reimbursement. But even the sovereign of Spain could not venture to touch this sacred deposit, without the consent of the council of Castile; and accordingly the queen, by the agency of her confessor, endeavoured to gain the president, the bishop of Sigüenza. The queen and Ripperda were, however, too little beloved to obtain the support of a

\* Stanhope's dispatch to the duke of Newcastle, Feb. 4, 1726. —Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, 4to; v. 2, p. 584.

† Stanhope's dispatches. —Sir Robert Walpole to lord Townshend, London, Oct. 12—21, 1725. —Lord Townshend to the duke of Newcastle, Nov. 4—15, 1725. —Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, v. 2, p. 486—490.



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spanish minister, in such an open violation of the national feelings and principles. The president referred the proposal to his friends, the two sicilian abbots, and, in consequence of their dissuasions, not only refused his assent, but solemnly protested against a measure pregnant with such mischief and injustice.\*

The queen and minister were equally confounded and indignant at this unexpected obstacle, and the queen in particular testified her resentment so warmly against the president, that he fell ill from chagrin and apprehension.

The king, however, being deeply affected by the representations of the president, the expedient was necessarily abandoned. To save appearances, the minister employed the royal name in demanding from England and France a disavowal of any hostile design against the spanish coasts ; and this disavowal being freely given, the troops were remanded to their former quarters.†

At the same moment, he turned his views to France, expecting to raise that jealousy or apprehension which he had failed to excite in England and Holland, and flattering himself that the court of Versailles might be lured with the hope of a reconciliation, or dazzled with the

\* Account of Ripperda by the two sicilian abbots.

† Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, April 23, 1736, N. S.

prospect of establishing a bourbon prince on the throne of the empire. With his characteristic presumption, he boasted that he was able at any moment to effect this reconciliation. He accordingly opened a secret correspondence, by means of the queen's confessor, Montgon, and other french agents, with Fleury, and endeavoured to gain him by offering to favour his design of supplanting the duke of Bourbon.

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In all quarters, the sanguine minister was equally unsuccessful. His threatening mandate to Holland, and his attacks against their commerce in supporting the rival company of Ostend, weighed with many towns which were before adverse to the Hanover alliance, and weakened that influence from which Spain had hitherto drawn such advantage.

The british nation and parliament, as on every dangerous occasion, rallied round the throne. Contrary to the hopes of Ripperda, they not only supplied the means of fulfilling the Hanover alliance, but testified their resolution to defend the german dominions of the king, if attacked in consequence of the measures pursued by the british government.

These repeated disappointments induced him to change his tone, and he became as humble as he was before vain and insolent. Instead of the peremptory demand of Gibraltar, he now mildly

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assured Mr. Stanhope, that it should not be made the subject of a war; that, although the king would not relinquish his pretensions, he was ready to wait a twelve-month, or even a much longer time. He concluded with pressing for an amicable negotiation on this disputed point, pledging his head, that such an equivalent should be offered on the part of Spain as would be perfectly satisfactory to the british nation.\*

Even the faint hopes which remained of detaching France from the Hanover alliance totally vanished. Fleury was too cautious, as well as too secure of his own personal influence with the young king, to employ the assistance of Spain against the duke of Bourbon. The duke himself, also, felt that the only chance of his continuance in power depended on the maintenance of the connection with England. Both courts accordingly presented a strong declaration, expressive of their cordial union, by the agency of Mr. Stanhope, who, from the absence of a french ambassador, was charged with their public business at Madrid. On this occasion, the king and minister shewed their disappointment, in a manner conformable to their respective characters. When Mr. Stanhope presented the letter written on the occasion, by Morville, french secretary of state, the king cautiously read it over, and then

\* Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, Feb. 28, 1726.

sullenly observed, " By this it appears that the king your master, and the french court, are closely united: so am I with the emperor." Ripperda, on the contrary, whose feelings and character were more impetuous, displayed every symptom of extreme chagrin and agitation, and, to adopt the expression of the british minister, " appeared more disconcerted than he had power to describe."\*


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Such sinister omens announced the approaching fall of this political meteor. He was overwhelmed with the multifarious business which flowed into his different departments, where his rigorous reforms had left him almost without assistance. He was perplexed and baffled even in the most beneficial designs, by the interested opposition of the councils and ministers; he was intimidated by the general clamour against the Vienna alliance.

Philip, who, amidst his hypochondriac melancholy, was not deficient in judgment nor in love of his people, at length truly estimated the extravagance of his visionary schemes, and encouraged the attacks of his enemies. He even repeatedly represented to the queen, that it was necessary to remove such a madman from power. For a time, however, Ripperda still maintained himself by the protection of this imperious

\* Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, April 23, 1726.

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woman, who reluctantly abandoned the hope that he would ultimately realise the promises with which she had flattered her ambition.

Confiding in her support, Ripperda endeavoured by confidence and presumption to overawe his enemies and save his tottering authority. He even ventured to overstep the respect due to the princes of the royal blood. The game-keepers of the prince of Asturias having shot a dog belonging to his wife, were instantly arrested. When the prince appeared before the king to demand redress, the minister attempted to interrupt him. The prince, with castilian spirit and brevity, silenced him with the remark, "I am speaking to the king:" Philip nodded approbation, and the humbled pride of the minister was reduced to an apology.

In a public levée, he enjoined the confessor to confine himself to the spiritual concerns of the sovereign, and not to meddle in other matters. On another occasion, he no less publicly declared; "I know that the spanish nation hate me; but I despise their attempts while I am protected by the queen, to whom I have rendered the most important service." He once made use of the absurd and childish exclamation, "I have six good friends, God, the Virgin Mary, the emperor and empress, and the king and queen of Spain."

His vacillations, indiscretion, and absurdities,

were, however, rapidly dissipating the favourable opinion which the queen herself had formed of his abilities and resources. Her pride, vanity, and ambition, for a time struggled against the general sentiment, and even against her own conviction: she passed whole days in alternate fits of tears and passion, when urged by the arguments of her consort.\* At length means were adopted to overcome her infatuation, by persuading her that other ministers could be found no less capable of realising her darling projects than Ripperda, without his vanity and indiscretion.

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The two brothers, the marquis of Castellar and Don Joseph Patiño, who had been removed from their offices to make way for Ripperda, were the chiefs of the cabal which struck the death blow to his authority. They were assisted by Sopeña, Ariaza, and other discarded ministers, and still more by their relative Monteleon, who, since his return from France, had regained his former favour. But their chief support was the confessor of the queen.†

\* "The king is extremely agitated and uneasy, and has daily disputes with the queen, who does nothing but cry from morning till night." Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, March 29, 1726.—Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, v. 2, p. 584. Correspondence.

† He had recently been raised to the rank of titular archbishop of Amida,

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This priest had been recommended to his post by Alberoni and d'Aubenton, from an opinion of his want of capacity and unambitious spirit. During the life of d'Aubenton and the ministry of Alberoni, he remained in the back ground; but he afterwards ceased to act a subordinate part; employed all the arts of petty cunning and an insinuating disposition, to acquire influence with his royal mistress, and succeeded by flattering her ambition, and affecting an entire devotion to her will. His ignorance of political affairs, joined to his anxiety to consolidate his favour, led him to form an intimate connection with the sicilian abbots, and particularly with the two Patiños,\* who were capable of supplying him with that information which his confined understanding and professional occupations had not permitted him to acquire. By his channel, therefore, the Patiños found means to transmit such representations as were at once calculated to weaken the power of the minister, and bring themselves into notice. They applied with equal success to count Konigseg, by engaging to realise the promises of Ripperda, and through his interposition, acquired the powerful assistance of the imperial court.

While this cabal was imperceptibly sapping the credit of the falling minister, he received a


\* Montgon, t. 1, p. 513.

new shock from the members of the Hanover alliance. Without declaring war, France and England employed prompt and effectual measures to palsy the efforts of Spain. France menaced an attack by land, while England detached three squadrons, one to the Baltic, a second to the coasts of Spain, and a third to block up the galleons in the ports of America. By the former, the powers of the north were awed, and the attention of Spain called to her own shores; by the latter, the regular supplies were suspended, public credit destroyed, and the last resource on which Ripperda had calculated, snatched from his grasp.

At this crisis, the smothered enmity between the minister and count Konigseg burst into open hostility. Konigseg assailed him with incessant accusations, and charged him with deceiving the court of Vienna, by pretending that the king of Spain was richer than all the other princes of Europe, while, in reality, he was scarcely less distressed than the emperor himself. On the other hand, Ripperda complained to the english and dutch ministers, that the Germans were insatiable, and would not be contented till they had drained the king of his last pistole. These bickerings were followed by a formal complaint from the emperor himself, inveighing against the folly



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and imprudence of Ripperda, in revealing to the british minister the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna, and exaggerating the fatal consequences of the disclosure. Such an attack was decisive. The queen herself joined with Konigseg in inflaming the displeasure of the king, employed all her influence to overthrow her own creature, and urgently recommended the Patiños, who had pledged themselves to discharge the subsidies, and fulfil the promises with which Ripperda had lured the imperial court.

Still, however, the fall of Ripperda was not sudden like that of Alberoni. He was first removed from the superintendence of the finances, and this partial disgrace was palliated with the pretence of relieving him from a part of the burthens of administration. Too well acquainted with court favour to mistake this prognostic of approaching ruin, he requested permission to retire. But the arrangements of his enemies were not yet matured, or the effects of his despair and indiscretion were dreaded. His demand was refused; he was even permitted to make an apology for his conduct, and continued a few days in the regular transaction of business. On the 14th of May, as he was quitting the royal cabinet, he received a decree from the marquis de la Paz, announcing the acceptance


of his resignation by the king; and the grant of an annual pension of 3,000 pistoles for his past services.

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This spoiled child of fortune might probably have been permitted to retire from visionary power to substantial affluence; but the very apprehensions which had apparently delayed and softened his fall, were now realised. From resentment or fear he had for some time courted the british and dutch governments; and in the first emotions occasioned by his dismissal, he hurried to the hotel of the dutch minister, Mr. Vander Meer, under the pretext of escaping from the indignation of the populace, who tumultuously assembled about his house. May 15.

Receiving, however, no encouragement from his own countryman, he took refuge in the hotel of Mr. Stanhope, who was then absent with the court at Aranjuez. On his return, Ripperda betrayed the most abject humiliation, and purchased a temporary protection by disclosing all the secrets of the spanish cabinet, with the exaggerations natural to his disordered feelings and dangerous situation. Besides the secret articles which he had before communicated, he now mentioned the intended marriages of the two archduchesses with the two infants, developed the plans formed for the restoration of the Pretender, and the schemes for dismembering from

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France, Alsace, Franche Comté, Burgundy, Navarre, Rousillon, and all the possessions which she had wrested from Austria and Spain; and concluded with adverting to the various projects for the eventual succession of Philip to the french throne. He accompanied the detail with signs of the utmost agony and contrition, and frequently interrupted his recital with groans and tears.

With the inconsistency of a weak mind, at the very moment when he had thus forfeited all claims to the royal indulgence, this singular and imprudent man made a final attempt to regain the partiality of his injured sovereigns. He wrote a letter expatiating on his past services,\* adding this expostulation, " Was it not I, who procured for your majesty the treaty of Vienna; was it not I, who concluded the marriages of Don Carlos and Don Philip with the two arch-duchesses?" He had even the folly to recommend the king to abandon the emperor and unite with England and France, from whom he might draw greater advantages for his children, namely, Italy for Don Carlos and the Netherlands for

\* Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, March 18, and July 2, 1726. Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, and Walpole Papers. And other details from a curious dispatch written by Mr. Keene, June 15, 1726, who was selected to convey this important intelligence to London. Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence, v. 2, p. 606.

Don Philip. He concluded his rhapsody with requesting permission to retire into a convent.

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It was not to be expected that the sovereigns of Spain would tamely suffer their disgraced favourite to insult them under the protection of a foreign minister. They therefore demanded the surrender of his person, and this being declined; they sent a military force, and caused him to be seized and transported under a strong guard to the castle of Segovia. But these precautions were too late to prevent the effects of his treason. Mr. Stanhope found means to commit the detail of his discoveries to writing, and place it in the hands of a friend; and dispatched the english consul, Mr. Keane, with a verbal account to his court. He made a protest against the violation of the privileges attached to his residence; but as the conduct of Ripperda was in itself unjustifiable, the british court profited by his disclosures without descending to any efficient measure of resentment.

The caprices and favours of fortune, towards this singular man, were not yet exhausted. After a confinement of fifteen months, though crippled with the gout, he found means to escape by the assistance of a maid servant, Josepha Romero, whom he had seduced; reached Portugal in safety, and landed in England, where he was received in secret, but with respect. His pre-

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sumption induced him to make an attempt to play the same part in England as in Spain;\* but failing in the design he withdrew to his native country, where he again embraced the protestant faith. Being demanded by the court of Spain as a state criminal, and his resentment against Spain still rankling in his bosom, he entered into the service of the moors, through the agency of Perez, a spanish renegado, then moorish resident at the Hague. He was honourably received by the emperor, Muley Abdalla, filled the administration for several years, and commanded an army against the spaniards.† On the dethronement of Muley Abdalla, he obtained the protection of the basha of Tetuan, and closed his chequered life in November, 1737, whether as a christian or a mussulman is uncertain and unimportant.

In reviewing the transitory administration of Ripperda, we naturally draw a comparison between him and his predecessor Alberoni. Both were men of abilities and extensive knowledge, and both the architects of their own fortune; Alberoni rising to power by native energy of

\* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole.—Art. Ripperda.

† In consequence of this connection with the infidels, he was deprived of his rank of duke and grandee of Spain, July 16, 1732. Ortiz has, however, preserved a letter from Ripperda to his friend Mr. Troye, May 22, 1734, justifying himself against the accusation of apostacy. T. 7, p. 388.


character, Ripperda by dexterously availing himself of times and circumstances. One, however, seemed born to command, the other to figure in a secondary sphere. One always appeared superior to his situation, struck before he threatened, veiled his means and designs with a mysterious secrecy which redoubled their effect, rose with new vigour from defeat, and for a time balanced the combined efforts of the great powers of Europe by the vast resources of his mighty genius. The other was no less rash in his promises than defective in their performance, rendered his real power contemptible by vain menaces and empty vaunts, and degraded his person and office by needless falsehoods, pitiful evasions,\* or alternate insolence and meanness. Both were equally impetuous and irritable, yet the hopes or apprehensions of Alberoni were

\* In proof of this remark it will be sufficient to quote a single passage from the correspondence of the british minister.

"Though I flatter myself with the hopes of being able to form a tolerably sure judgment of the disposition of this court, I have almost as little certainty from them of what they will be a fortnight hence, as I have of knowing what the wind will then be from seeing how it is at present. This uncertainty proceeds from having a minister at the head of affairs, upon whose veracity no sort of dependance can be had; and what is still worse, who acts upon no fixed scheme; but entangled in his rash engagements, which he finds himself unable to fulfil, from the disappointment of his vain hopes at home, and in most of the countries in Europe, *a perdu la tramontane, et vit au jour la journée.*"

Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, Madrid, April 11, 1726. *Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole.*

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1796.



never betrayed, even amidst the most violent ebullitions of his temper; while Ripperda discovered all the workings of his mind, by his looks and gestures, embarrassment and agitation. Finally, one was respected and dreaded in his retreat, the other despised even in the height of his authority.


But while we place Alberoni in a rank far superior, it would be unjust to withhold from Ripperda the merit of having suggested many useful schemes which were executed by other ministers. He evidently projected most of the commercial regulations adopted by Alberoni; and the bare outline of the plans sketched in a preceding chapter, will suffice to prove how greatly his successor Patiño profited by his ideas and designs. Indeed Ripperda may justly be regarded as one of the principal authors of the new commercial system established in Spain, since the commencement of the last century.

The fall of Ripperda was followed by the re-appointment of most of the ministers whom he had displaced, though political power was transferred to other hands. Grimaldo was again named secretary for foreign affairs; but the conduct of the important communications with the court of Vienna was still confined to the marquis de la Paz. Don Francisco Ariaza was replaced in the department of finance; and Castelar in

†

that of war. Don Joseph Patiño, assuming the administration of the marine, and possessing the full confidence of the queen and Königseg, now commenced the career of his ministry.\*

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\* *Memoires de Montgon*, t. 1, *passim*.—*St. Philippe*, t. 4, *passim*.—*Ortiz*, t. 7, lib. 23, c. 10, 11.—*Dispatches of Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Keene*.—*Account of Ripperda by the sicilian abbots*.—*Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole*, ch. 35, and of lord Walpole, ch. 14, 15.—Campbel has written a life of this singular man, which contains some truths, but overwhelmed with fictions proper only for the pages of romance.—Also a spirited sketch of his character and administration by G. Moore, esq. though in some instances he has been misled by the fables of Campbel.



## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-EIGHTH.

1726.

*Preponderance of the german influence at Madrid—Disgrace of Grimaldo and change of ministry—Rise of Patiño—Ineffectual attempts of the french court to effect a reconciliation—The queen obtains the disgrace of the confessor and the sicilian abbots—Philip resumes his designs on the french succession—Instructions and mission of the abbot Montgon to Paris—Commencement of an intercourse between the two bourbon courts—Montgon returns to Madrid—Temporary hostilities with England—Siege of Gibraltar—Signature of the preliminaries by the emperor—Delays of Spain—Effects of the death of George the first—Restoration of the correspondence between France and Spain.*

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**T**HE fall of Ripperda gave additional strength to the german influence, and inflamed the hostile disposition towards England and France. With redoubled confidence, the court turned towards the emperor, as to a cordial friend and powerful ally, who was occupied in promoting the interest and glory of the spanish crown, by preparing the way for transferring to the family of Philip the vast dominions of the House of Austria. Such was the darling object which engrossed all the thoughts and hopes of the queen. The illusion of this agreeable perspective did not permit her to discern the slightest shade of diffi-

culty, or anticipate the most trifling obstacle ; it became an article of political faith at Madrid, that sincerity was no where to be found but at Vienna, and insinuations contrary to this darling idea were not merely received with contempt, but drew down infallible disgrace on their authors.

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Ripperda had suffered too severely for his want of complaisance towards the court of Vienna, to be imitated by the new ministry. At the very moment of his disgrace, 300,000 dollars were sent to the emperor, a loan of 2,000,000 more negotiated in the most pressing manner, and the principal part immediately transmitted to the same destination. The troops withdrawn by order of Ripperda, were again countermarched to the french frontier and the coasts of Galicia, and ships equipped in the different ports. New marks of distinction were lavished on the dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the rest of the exiled jacobites, both by the court and the imperial minister, and every proof displayed of an intention to prosecute the hostile designs so solemnly and repeatedly disavowed.\*

An entire change took place in all the departments of state, and every minister was removed who was even suspected of partiality towards

\* Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, June 27, 1726.

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England and France. To use the expression of a writer engaged in the intrigues of the cabinet, every thing which did not bear the stamp of entire devotion to the court of Vienna, was stigmatised with a mark of reprobation.\*

One of the first victims was the marquis of Grimaldo, so long the personal favourite of the king, who had shared his retreat, and been the depositary of his most secret counsels. His influence had resisted numerous attacks, and gained new strength by every victory. On the disgrace of Ripperda, he was indeed restored to office; but by the interference of the all-powerful Konigseg, he was excluded from any share in the communications with the court of Vienna, which were confided to the marquis de la Paz. The jealousy excited by this exclusion in the breast of the minister, raised frequent disputes between him and his former dependant; and his enemies profiting by his moments of spleen, and avowed attachment to England, at length succeeded in obtaining his dismissal. Ariaza, minister of the finances, shared the same fate, in consequence of his opposition to the enormous subsidies lavished on the court of Vienna.

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In announcing these incidents to Mr. Walpole, then minister at Paris, Mr. Stanhope observes, "Your excellency will doubtless be much sur-

\* Montgon.

prised by the late changes at this court, as indeed every body here was, and still is, and none more than the persons themselves who have suffered by them. As to the marquis of Grimaldo, it is certain he expected no such thing yesterday morning. He was actually putting his papers into the bag to carry them to the king, (as it was dispatch day) when the order was delivered to him to resign his employment, and retire immediately to Madrid, with a pension of two thousand pistoles a year.† \* \* \* \*

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“ Don Joseph Patiño seems to be the only gainer by these changes. He has the employments of president, intendant, and secretary of the *hacienda*, or finances, joined to those he held before, namely, superintendant of the marine, and secretary of the marine and Indies. As to the marquis de la Paz, he rather loses than gains by what has happened, being obliged to part with the secretaryship of the finances, for the addition of the few foreign affairs, which had been left in Grimaldo's hands, the greatest and most considerable part having been long since in his own.

“ Patiño grows every day into the confidence of their catholic majesties: if he once gains it,

† Grimaldo lived for a few years at Madrid, in a state of dignified retirement, always respected, and frequently consulted by the king.

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he is likely to preserve it long ; because he is a person of great capacity and experience in affairs, and of wonderful application and dispatch."

But the most important of these changes was the removal of father Bermudez, the king's confessor, an avowed enemy to the german alliance, and a partisan equally zealous for a reconciliation with France. He was esteemed a man of strict integrity, superior to the petty intrigues too common among those of his order ; and he was endeared to Philip by strict attention to his duty, and the confidence derived from his office of confessor. In vain the queen had hitherto laboured to procure his dismissal, though she had so far prejudiced the mind of her suspicious husband, as to draw on him reproaches for treachery. When he offered to attest his innocence on the crucifix, the king snatched it from his hands, exclaiming, " I have too much respect for the image of Christ, to suffer you to perjure yourself." The confessor, however, found means to parry this blow, and even to regain his influence.\*

Having entered into a secret correspondence with cardinal Fleury, he was employed to make a direct overture to the king for a reconciliation without the knowledge of the queen. Bermudez

\* Memoires de Tessé.

availed himself of the opportunity of confession, to present a letter from Fleury, inclosing another from the king of France himself. Philip had scarcely cast his eye over these letters, before the queen, who never left him long alone with the confessor, entered the apartment. Perceiving the papers in his hand, and the confusion of the confessor, she affected to retire, expressing her concern for having interrupted business. This artifice produced its usual effect. "You may enter," said the king, "for we have no business. Father Bermudez is speaking to me of a letter which he has received from cardinal Fleury, and has delivered me one from the cardinal himself." He then placed these important papers in her hands.

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1736.

It is easy to conceive the indignation of this imperious woman on discovering such an attempt to subvert her favourite system. The humbled confessor was instantly commanded to retire; and before the evening received an order to return to his college, without a pension, or the slightest mark of royal favour. His place was filled by father Clarke, a jesuit of irish extraction, and rector of the scottish college at Madrid, personally unknown to the king, and imperfectly acquainted with the french language; but principally recommended as a partisan of the Stuart

Sept. 29.

CHAP. 33. family, and as confessor to the count and countess  
 1736. of Konigseg.\*

Subsequent attempts only drew down similar disgrace on their authors. The sicilian abbots, Platania and Caraccioli, had been long accustomed to furnish memorials to the king, and to give him advice in private audiences, conducted by means of his favourite valet, Valois. As they were men of great political sagacity, Philip at all times received their opinions with attention, though contrary to the predominant system patronised by the queen; and they had essentially contributed to the fall of Ripperda. They entered into a private correspondence with Fleury and the english ministers, and profited by their audiences and communications to expose the mischiefs resulting from the german connection, and the policy of a reconciliation with France. To these representations, we may attribute a part of that lukewarmness, and even repugnance, which Philip occasionally expressed with regard to the Vienna alliance. For some time this intercourse was kept so secret as to escape the prying eyes of the queen, till in one of Philip's frequent indispositions, a letter found in his pocket led to a discovery of his advisers. So

\* These particulars are chiefly drawn from the Memoirs of Montgon, who received his intelligence from the archbishop of Toledo, and Bermudez himself. T. 2, p. 311, 317, and Stanhope's dispatch to the duke of Newcastle, Madrid, Oct. 7, 1726.

highly, however, were they respected by the king, that the queen did not make a direct attempt to procure their removal; but employing the agency of the inquisition, caused them to be seized on a religious accusation, without the knowledge of Philip, and ordered them to be transported to Italy.\*

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This therefore, like the preceding attempts, served only to fortify the authority of the queen, and to intangle Spain still deeper in the german connection. Count Königseg, whose exaggerated promises had charmed her imagination, became the great channel of court favour, and the prime mover of the spanish counsels, and was permitted or authorised to receive from the chiefs of the different departments, the same communications as were made to the prime minister. Every thing bent to his powerful interference; even Monteleon, though related

\* From a curious letter of Mr. Walpole, Sept. 30, NS. 1727. These abbots afterwards repaired to Paris; and furnished much useful information to the british and french governments. In a visit to England they were received with great attention by the ministry, were gratified with pensions, and appear to have passed the remainder of their lives in France. So warmly were they persecuted by the queen, that, according to the information of Montgon, to whom they were recommended by Monteleon, one of the pretexts employed by Fleury to ruin his credit with the court of Madrid, was an accidental visit paid to him by these priests on their arrival at Paris. Montgon, t. 3, p. 64, t. 5, p. 108, 134. In the Memoirs of lord Walpole, I have erred in attributing their banishment to the displeasure of the king. Ch. 14.



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to the Patiños, and favoured with the royal confidence, was baffled in his attempts to obtain the embassy of Vienna, in consequence of his former connections with England.\*

The queen, so agreeably flattered with the hope of realising her ambitious dreams through the Vienna alliance, persuaded herself, that little difficulty would arise in detaching France from England, or at least in palsying the efforts of the french government, by exciting civil troubles under the pretence of urging the claims of Philip to the eventual succession. These hopes, which were easily infused into the mind of her husband, were strengthened by the events in France since the fall of Ripperda.

We have already mentioned the contemptuous manner in which the catholic king rejected the letters of apology for the dismissal of the infanta. Frequent overtures of the duke of Bourbon were repulsed with similar contempt, and even a declaration was made that no apology would be accepted, till the duke himself should repair to Madrid to solicit pardon on his knees. On a refusal to comply with such a degrading condition, both the king and queen forbade the very name of the duke to be mentioned in their presence.


\* Mr. Stanhope to Mr. Walpole, Madrid, July 2, and Segovia, Sept. 30, 1726.

Resentment and the desire of vengeance again induced Philip and his queen to employ the intrigues of their partisans in France, and to profit by the errors and abuses which disgraced the administration. The duke of Bourbon himself imitated the profligacy, without possessing the talents of his predecessor, the regent. He was governed by a rapacious mistress, madame de Prie; and she in her turn was directed by those low and greedy adventurers, the four brothers known by the name of Paris, who, deriving their humble origin from a petty inn-keeper at the foot of the Alps, had risen by chance, aided by their own talents and address, to the height of political power and affluence. Such a government, combining every species of immorality and peculation with weakness and imbecility, was contemned by every honest and discerning man, and found a powerful opposition in the party of the duke of Maine, and the numerous adherents of the bourbon system of policy.\*

In this disposition of the public mind, the intrigues of the spanish court produced a considerable effect; but the fall of the unpopular minister was hastened by the ascendancy of bishop Frejus, preceptor to the king, afterwards well known under the title of cardinal Fleury. Disputes had continually arisen between the

\* Memoirs of Lord Walpole, ch. 12.

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duke and the preceptor, each of which had only tended to strengthen the interest of the latter, till at length their rivalry terminated in the dismissal of the duke. He was exiled to his residence of Chantilly; and Fleury, at the advanced age of seventy-three, ventured to assume the administration of affairs.

This change was hailed in Spain with scarcely less exultation than the conclusion of the alliance with the emperor. Besides the gratification of personal resentment, it was considered by the court of Madrid as a new æra in the policy of France: Philip and his queen confidently believed, that the new minister, an ecclesiastic, and a personal enemy of the duke, would signalise his accession to power, by breaking the alliance with heretics, and renewing the connection between the two branches of the House of Bourbon. It cannot, indeed, be asserted, that these hopes were totally unfounded; but France was still too much embarrassed by internal disorders, and too jealous of Austria, to take so abrupt and decisive a step.

The first measure, however, of the new minister, was an overture through the papal nuncio, to accommodate the family disputes, accompanied with the declaration, that he himself had no share in the dismissal of the infant. An imperious reply from the king of Spain, for

a time, cut off all hope of that gradual reconciliation which it was the policy of the cautious minister to effect. Still dazzled with the splendid prospects of the Vienna alliance, Philip insisted that the emperor should mediate the arrangement; and reproached Fleury for his union with the enemies of God and of the catholic religion. Such a preposterous mediation was therefore naturally rejected, as insidious, and contrary to the faith of the treaties with England.

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November,  
1726.

All attempts to dissolve the connection between France and England proving fruitless, Philip endeavoured to accomplish by force what he was unable to effect by intrigue and negotiation. He matured his military preparations for the siege of Gibraltar, trusting that the emperor would adopt a part equally decisive, and give full employment to the Hanover allies in Germany. Indeed this expectation was partially realised; for the emperor induced Russia to accede to the alliance of Vienna; he detached the king of Prussia, whose interest preponderated in the north of Germany, and by the promise of liberal subsidies he obtained the support of the catholic states. To engross the whole attention of the british government, he intrigued with the jacobites both in England and on the continent; and caballed with the chiefs of opposition, who

CHAP. 38. became the apologists and advocates of Spain and Austria.

1726.

At the moment when the two courts were thus deeply occupied in forwarding their common design, a report of the french king's declining health diverted the attention of Philip, and revived his darling hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors. He accordingly sent a confidential agent into France, who, under the hackneyed pretext of negotiation, was to consolidate an union of all parties in his favour; and either gain Fleury, or prevent his opposition by exciting internal troubles. This agent was the abbot de Montgon, a native of France, who, under the appearance of religious enthusiasm, had won the confidence of the devout monarch and his queen. He was of noble descent, and brought up in the family of Condé, with the duke of Bourbon; but renounced his property in favour of his brother, and exchanged the military for the ecclesiastical profession. By the interest of d'Aubenton, he endeavoured to obtain an establishment in Spain; and appears even to have aspired to the office of preceptor to the prince of Asturias. Although the death of his protector frustrated his appointment, he was not discouraged; for, on the abdication of Philip, he requested, through the medium of the new confessor, to share his retreat, with no other view,

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as he said, than to become a near spectator of his virtues, and strengthen his own good disposition by so edifying an example. The resumption of the crown by Philip prevented the fulfilment of his request; but after a short delay, he was permitted to repair to Spain, with the promise of a post near the royal person. He was employed by his patron the duke of Bourbon to mediate a reconciliation; and though his endeavours proved unsuccessful, he continued to rise in favour, and was selected for the task of uniting and consolidating all parties in favour of Philip's pretensions to the eventual succession of France.

In the audience in which he received his orders, after some previous conversation on the delicacy of his commission, the queen said to him as he stooped to kiss her hand: "You are going into a country where I am little beloved; but you shall judge whether with reason. We were informed by a special messenger from the court of France, that as soon as my daughter had completed her seventh year, the betrothment should take place. Yet the very next post brought us word that she was sent back. Is it wonderful that the king and myself should resent an insult which would provoke the meanest individual?" "This insult," replied the abbot, "cannot be imputed to the french nation, which

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fosters for your majesties equal attachment and respect; for the departure of the infanta spread as much concern as her arrival had given joy. This last sentiment will readily be revived when your affection for the french nation returns. If you will permit me to be the bearer of this happy news, you will soon be apprised of the universal joy it will inspire in France." "It is not yet time to speak of that," interrupted the queen; "you know our sentiments on that article, and the king and I trust you will exactly follow our instructions. Confine yourself solely to the object of your mission; and you will receive my further orders from my confessor the archbishop of Amida."

Dec. 24,  
1726.

Montgon afterwards received his instructions, written in the king's own hand. To use the words employed by the monarch himself; "If it please God that the king my nephew should die without male heirs, *I, the nearest relative, or my descendants, ought and will succeed to the crown of my ancestors.\** For this purpose you will endeavour to discover and discriminate those who are attached to me, those who are attached to the House of Orleans, and those who are indifferent to both parties, and you will

\* After the remarks we have made in regard to the views of Philip on the french crown, it is perhaps scarcely necessary to call the attention of the reader to this forcible expression.

employ every discreet and secure means to augment the number of my adherents. You will not communicate this either to cardinal Fleury or to the count de Morville. Not to the former, because his devotion to the House of Orleans is known, and because, for some time, I have no reason to be satisfied with his conduct. You may, however, visit him as a private man, and endeavour by his means to discover the true state of the court, and of affairs; but enter into no negotiation without my special permission. Morville is totally devoted to the english, and therefore you must distrust him; though you may likewise draw from him all the information you can.

“ Give no umbrage to the ministers of the emperor, but by no means impart to them the slightest hint of your commission. Act in every thing as a private individual, avoiding the airs of a minister, and make no allusion to a reconciliation in the present state of affairs.

“ Attempt particularly to gain the duke of Bourbon, by assuring him that if he will engage to favour my just cause, I will forget the past, and that he may expect from me every return of attention and friendship. This point requires your utmost secrecy, discretion, and address.”

After pointing out the persons whom he was to consult, he observes, “ I give you a letter of



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credence written with my own hand, which you are to present to the parliament, at the moment of the death of the king my nephew. *It contains orders to proclaim me king.* You will please to inform yourself what other letters are necessary to the different bodies of the state, and whether it will be proper to name a cabinet or regent, till my arrival, with the names of those you recommend for that appointment. Also, should the queen survive the king, whether means should be taken to ascertain her pregnancy.

“The moment the king is attacked with a dangerous malady, you will send me a courier, and in case of his death, you will take the same precaution to announce the event, and the measures you have adopted.”\*

But to avoid exciting the jealousy of the emperor, or to furnish a plausible pretext for the mission, Montgon, before his departure, received a memorial in the hand of the queen, from her confessor, without any specific address. It contained a positive denial that Spain was averse to a reconciliation with France, and a proposal of re-union, provided the king would accede to the Vienna alliance. This memorial was to be communicated to Fleury; but every precaution was adopted to evade any serious engagement, and

\* Montgon, t. 3, p. 70.

many petty artifices were employed to give to Montgon's departure the air of a disgrace, at the instance of the imperial minister. Soon afterwards, a new hint was conveyed to Montgon by the confessor, to contrive that if Louis the fifteenth should die, Don Carlos should be appointed to succeed in France, and Don Ferdinand in Spain.\* With these instructions Montgon departed on the 8th of January, 1727.

But the plan, matured with such art and caution, could scarcely have been confided to an agent less discreet. The abbot, vain of his address, and equally presumptuous, credulous, and loquacious, contravened every article of his instructions. He disclosed the proposal for a reconciliation to Morville, who was devoted to the alliance with England, and in the very first conference with Fleury, he suffered the insinuating minister to draw from him the whole design of his mission, and even to peruse the orders with which he was charged. By the connivance of the cardinal, he also obtained personal interviews with the duke of Bourbon, as well as with many nobles of the spanish party, and imparted the intelligence which he received from them, with the same indiscretion as his own commission and instructions. He was thus adroitly cajoled and made the channel of communication with all

\* Montgon, t. 2, p. 366.

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parties, until an intercourse of letters was established between the two sovereigns.

Aug. 13.

This point was no sooner gained, than Fleury endeavoured to free himself from the presence of an agent, who, besides his loquacious and meddling disposition, was a zealous adherent of the duke of Bourbon. He, therefore, treated him with studied reserve, and contrived to hasten his departure. Accordingly, Montgon returned to Spain, bearing letters of apology from the duke of Bourbon, and proofs of attachment from the adherents of Philip; but, at the same time, leaving in the hands of the french minister a clue to the machinations of his party, and the means of tracing and baffling their designs. The reports he was suffered to convey, flattered the hopes of the spanish court, and he was welcomed both by the king and queen with all the favours due to the most adroit and successful negotiator.

In his first audience, Montgon delivered the letters which he had brought from France, and rendered an account of his mission. The queen alone maintained the discourse; for the king, absorbed in a profound melancholy, gave no other sign of attention, than an occasional nod or smile. After obtaining a promise to accept the apology of the duke of Bourbon, and promote his return to court, the abbot entered into a bitter invective against Fleury, and to use his

own whimsical expression, *made an exact anatomy* of his designs and injustice. The queen, listening complacently, enquired with a smile, "How did you take leave of each other?" To his reply, "With indifference on his part, and without chagrin on mine;" the queen rejoined, "I believe what you say; do not trust that man." She then reverted to the situation of France; and, after expatiating on the advantages to be expected from the reconciliation, concluded with an earnest wish to reward his meritorious services, and with assuring him of the protection of the king against the resentment of the cardinal.\*

In the midst of these transactions, the king of Spain commenced hostilities against England. He ordered the Prince Frederick, a trading ship belonging to the south-sea company, with a rich cargo of merchandize, to be seized at Vera Cruz. He threatened an invasion of the british isles, and collected an army of 25,000 men in Andalusia, for the siege of Gibraltar. In vain the most experienced of his generals remonstrated; in vain the marquis of Villadarias, who had conducted the attack in the war of the succession, represented the impracticability of the

\* Montgon, t. 4 & 5, passim.—Mr. Walpole's dispatches from Paris, during, and after the mission of Montgon.—Memoirs of Lord Walpole, ch. 14.

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Feb. 11,  
1797.

attempt while the english remained masters of the sea, and preferred the resignation of all his employments to the conduct of so hopeless an enterprise. Philip found a general inspired with his own sanguine hopes, in the marquis de las Torres, who presumptuously boasted, that in six weeks he would deliver Spain from this noxious settlement of foreigners and heretics. The siege was vigorously commenced; and it was hoped that such promptitude in undertaking hostilities, and the speedy reduction of Gibraltar, would at once remove every pretext for the interference of France, and stimulate the emperor to measures equally decisive in Germany. To alarm the court of Versailles, the king of Spain threatened to confiscate the property of the french merchants on board the flota, which soon after arrived from America.

These sanguine hopes were dissipated by the spirit and resources of the british nation. The parliament, roused by the machinations and hostilities of Spain and the emperor, supported the government with unusual grants of men and money. Gibraltar was supplied with continual succours, the jacobites were awed by vigorous measures, and the imperial minister, count Palm, was disgracefully dismissed, for appealing to the nation against the conduct of the king. Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, acceded to the

Hanover alliance. A french army was collected on the frontiers of Germany, and a subsidiary force of danes, swedes, and hessians, taken into pay. The death of Catherine the first deprived the emperor and Spain of a powerful ally in the north; the king of Prussia began to waver, and the failure of the subsidies from Spain threatened to rob the emperor of that support in Germany, in which he had vainly confided. Instead of becoming the assailant, he was menaced in his turn. After a short negotiation, commenced by the pope, and continued under the mediation of France, he sacrificed Spain to his own safety; and his ambassador signed the preliminaries of peace at Paris, on the 31st of May, 1727. These preliminaries were formally ratified; and, after considerable reluctance, accepted by the duke of Bournonville, the spanish minister at Vienna, in the name, though without the express authority of his sovereign.\*

By the first article, the Ostend company was suspended for seven years. By the second, the rights and pretensions of the contracting powers were to remain on the same footing as before the year 1725, or if infringed, the question was to be referred to the decision of a future

\* House of Austria, v. 2, c. 8.—Preliminaries of Vienna in the collections of public papers, and particularly in Rousset, t. 3, p. 382—404.

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congress. The third contained the stipulation, that the commercial privileges enjoyed by the maritime powers and France, should be restored, as before the same period. According to the fifth, the king of Spain was to cease hostilities within eight days after receiving the preliminaries; the ships of the Ostend company, included in a particular list, were to complete their voyages, or if taken, to be restored, and any which might have been seized, were to be faithfully delivered, with their cargoes. The galleons\* were also to be permitted to return, in the full trust that the king of Spain would distribute the american effects, both in them and the flota, as in time of peace. In consequence, the british squadrons were to quit the blockade of the american ports, and withdraw from the coasts of the dominions belonging to Spain and the emperor, and the british commerce was to be exercised according to former treaties. By the eighth article, the ratifications were to be exchanged within two months, and a congress assembled within four, at Aix la Chapelle.

\* The galleons were the vessels charged with the riches and merchandise of the western districts of South America, which rendezvoused at Carthagena, or Portobello; the flota, those which were charged with the productions of the eastern, and which rendezvoused at the Havannah; the flotilla was a light division detached to announce their arrival, and carry a statement of their respective cargoes.

In virtue of this engagement, the king of England issued orders to the governor of Gibraltar, and the admirals in the West Indies, to cease hostilities, to restore the prizes taken during the war, to permit the return of the galleons, and to raise the blockade of the spanish ports and coasts. These orders were transmitted to Mr. Vandermeer, the dutch minister at Madrid, who, in the absence of the regular ambassadors, was charged with the affairs of France and England. He was directed to communicate them to the court, and obtain the ratification of the preliminaries, with reciprocal orders, for raising the siege of Gibraltar, and restoring the ships detained and captured, particularly the Prince Frederick.

But the allies of Hanover had ill calculated on the capitious and vindictive spirit which animated the spanish cabinet. Philip, still hoping for a favourable change of affairs, delayed the ratification of the preliminaries, and continued to temporise until the death of George the first.

This event again awakened his hopes. He renewed his intrigues with the jacobites, ordered his ambassadors and agents in foreign courts to encourage them with promises of support, and instigated the Pretender to proceed to a port in the Netherlands, that he might be ready to pass over to



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England on the first signal. Philip was even persuaded that France would seize so favourable an opportunity of deserting England, and returning to that system, to which she was bound by the ties of blood, religion, and policy.

He was encouraged by the emperor, who fostered a similar resentment against the british government, and resumed his design of carrying his arms into the electorate of Hanover and the United Provinces. The expectation of a new revolution in England produced an equal change in the interested sentiments of the german princes. The king of Prussia renewed his alliance with Austria, Saxony became neuter, Bavaria, with the electors on the Rhine, concurred in favouring the emperor. The possession of Mentz and Erfurth furnished the means of an attack against France ; and a negotiation was commenced with the duke of Brunswick Wolfembuttel, for the occupation of Brunswick, which would open a similar road into the dominions of Hanover and the United Provinces.\*

But the sanguine hopes which both powers had founded on this change of government, were as rapidly dissipated, as they were suddenly conceived. The french government not only resisted all the lures and threats of Spain, but

\* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 33.

Fleury himself wrote to the new king, deprecating a change of administration.\* George the second took quiet possession of his throne, retained the ministry, and adopted the system of policy pursued by his father. The temporary ascendancy of the emperor in Germany again yielded to the prevailing influence of british subsidies, and the attacks which he meditated against France, the United Provinces, and Hanover, were frustrated by the defection of his most valuable allies. His inaction, therefore, now became a motive with the court of Madrid to imitate his example, and purchase the most favourable terms by a separate accommodation.

As the prelude to this arrangement, Philip and the queen endeavoured to accelerate the reconciliation between the two bourbon crowns. We have already noticed their refusal to accept any apology, however humble, from the duke of Bourbon, and the extreme joy which they manifested at his disgrace. So great an obstacle being thus removed, they employed the agency of Montgon, who was then at Madrid, to testify their satisfaction, and their wish for a renewal of the former correspondence, provided the king of France, for the interests of their common religion, would embrace the catholic cause, and accede to the alliance of Vienna. This overture

\* Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. 15.

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produced an amicable reply from the french minister of foreign affairs, representing the dismission of the duke as a measure calculated to facilitate a reconciliation ; but expressing the regret of his sovereign that any proposal should be made to him, derogating from the fidelity due to his allies. When Fleury announced his elevation to the purple, the ministerial communication was made in the same style.

Still, however, the king of Spain hoped at once to reap the advantages of a connection with France and Austria : he declined a reconciliation except by the mediation of the emperor, and on the condition that the british squadrons should be withdrawn from their coasts. This determination therefore suspended the attempts to effect a more cordial union.

But an accommodation was so popular in France and so advantageous in itself, that Fleury renewed his efforts to promote so desirable an object ; and the situation of Spain, as well as the changeable temper of the sovereigns, at length were propitious to his design. After the first emotions of resentment had subsided, Philip gave way to his inherent affection towards his family and native country ; and had his will been uncontrolled, the remaining obstacles would have been speedily removed. But the resentment of the queen, naturally more vindictive, and

personally averse to France, derived additional strength from her anxiety to aggrandize her children; and the flattering prospect derived from the Vienna alliance, joined to the continual lures of the emperor, for a long time contributed to keep this passion alive.

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Fleury having in vain endeavoured to conciliate the queen through the agency of Donna Laura and the duchess of St. Pierre,\* attempted to work on the mind of Philip without her knowledge. For this effect he employed the intervention of the confessor, father Bermudez, to which we have already alluded as the cause of his disgrace.

One of these letters, communicated to Mr. Walpole, may serve to give an idea of the style and arguments adopted by the sagacious minister.†

“It is not long since,” Fleury observed, “I acquainted father Bermudez, that I was tempted to inform your majesty of some particular matters of great secrecy and importance, which I now do, in order to discharge my conscience, as well as to satisfy my duty and attachment. I rely on

\* Sister of Torei, and one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to the queen of Spain.

† Mr. Walpole to Mr. Stanhope, Fontainebleau, Sept. 15, 1726.  
—Mem. de Montgon.

CHAP. 38. your known piety, and the inviolable secrecy of  
1726. confession, which I exact from you, not to disclose what I reveal.

“ Upon the report of your majesty’s design to abdicate the crown, and of some free expressions used by the prince of Asturias against the excessive power of the germans at your court, a project has been contrived at Vienna equally diabolical and ridiculous, as if England and France had framed a conspiracy, by means of Mr. Stanhope, to shut up your majesty and the queen in a convent, and proclaim the prince of Asturias. This project was sent to count Palm at London, to communicate it to Pozzobueno. But Palm, who had not well learnt or understood his lesson, or with the absurdity inseparable from falsehood and calumny, has thought fit to embellish this scheme with circumstances so extravagant as to deprive it of all appearance of probability. Should this account therefore reach your majesty, I have too good an opinion of your understanding and integrity to doubt that you will in a moment detect the imposture.

“ God forbid that I should lay so wicked a thing to the emperor’s charge. I know his religion and integrity too well to suspect him; but his ministers are less scrupulous. We have too recent proofs of their machinations to suppose them incapable of such calumny, however

unworthy of ministers and christians. I will not take upon me to name any of them, although they are not difficult to guess ; but I dare assert, that prince Eugene is not one of them. Their chief aim is to embroil your majesty and France, and to render the misunderstanding so great as to leave no hopes for a reconciliation. The most shameful artifices are employed to compass this design.

“ I should do the french injustice, should I for a moment attempt to vindicate them from so black an aspersion. Your majesty knows the genius of the nation too well to entertain such a suspicion. They are indeed deeply touched at your late indifference to them, and at your repugnance to be reconciled to the king your nephew ; but they are incapable of conceiving so diabolical a plot, and their concern arises from no other motive than their respect for your majesty.

“ I can as little believe that the english would be guilty of engaging in so chimerical a scheme ; for had they any such intention, they would have communicated it to us ; and I know so well the virtue and uprightness of the king and his ministers, that I can answer for them. Difference of religion does by no means authorise views contrary to all probity and honour.

“ The motive which has induced the imperial

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ministers to invent this fable is probably the general discontent among the people of Spain at the great remittances of money to Vienna; and the apprehension that this may induce your majesty to relent towards France.

“ I think myself obliged to inform your majesty of another particular of great importance. I do not presume to enquire into the secret engagements between your majesty and the emperor; but one of them is become too public to be doubted, namely, that the emperor has agreed to give the two archduchesses his daughters in marriage to your sons, Don Carlos and Don Philip. I say, I do not presume to enter into this mystery; but I think myself obliged to acquaint your majesty, that the emperor has given a written declaration in his own hand to the elector of Bavaria, denying that he has made any such agreement; at your command I will produce a written proof of it, though I impart this under the inviolable secrecy of confession, not to expose the elector of Bavaria to the resentment of the emperor. He has also given the duke of Lorraine the most solemn assurances, that the two archduchesses shall never espouse any other princes but his two sons; and though I can give no written proof of this, it shall be testified on oath. I thought it my duty to communicate these circumstances,

because probably the promise of these marriages made by the emperor to the queen of Spain, has induced her majesty to enter into all the views of the imperial court.

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“ I shall only add another remark, the truth of which your minister at Florence is best able to inform you. The imperial ministers are making the strictest search to procure registers and documents for many ages of all the fiefs in Tuscany, which ever depended on the empire, to appropriate or sell them; that if Don Carlos should succeed to those dominions, it will be as to a carcass mangled and torn.

“ Your majesty may perhaps imagine that I am actuated by an earnest desire of a reconciliation between Spain and France; but I can assure you I have no other motive than my duty and attachment to you, and my concern for your interest, honour, and dignity.

“ We are just informed that count Palm has spoken of the pretended conspiracy against you, and that you intend to demand the recal of Mr. Stanhope. You may easily see in this the views of the imperialists to remove from you the minister whose vigilance they dread; that they may become masters of your court.”\*

\* Contained in Mr. Walpole's letter to Mr. Stanhope, Fontainebleau, Sept. 15, NS. 1726.



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The preceding failures, and the disgrace which this attempt drew on the confessor, convinced the cardinal that all further efforts would be fruitless without the co-operation of the queen. He therefore changed his battery ; employed the agency of Montgon to open a direct correspondence with her confessor, whom he lured with a cardinal's hat ; and at length induced her to enter into an intercourse of letters with the king of France. The dismissal of Morville, and appointment of Chauvelin, which was the necessary prelude to a change of policy, was represented as a mark of deference to the court of Spain ; and after the agency of Montgon was superseded, the intercourse was continued by means of the papal nuncios at Madrid, Paris, and Vienna.

The effect of Fleury's representations was strengthened by the compulsory desertion of the emperor, and the embarrassments of Spain. The queen now looked with a favourable eye towards France, and nothing but form, and a remnant of political jealousy, prevented an open and permanent accommodation. Such an opportunity was adroitly improved ; and at length an acknowledgment drawn from the court of Madrid, that the reconciliation should be publicly announced, provided the king of France would prepare the way by a letter of compli-

ment and excuse. This arrangement produced an affectionate letter from Louis both to the king and queen.

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“ I have learnt by a letter from the nuntio Aldobrandini, that you no longer object to our reconciliation; and are willing to forget the circumstance which has occasioned an interruption of the good intelligence natural between princes of the same blood, and so nearly related. No news can ever give me greater pleasure than I feel from this information. I am unable to express my joy, and shall never forget this mark of your affection. You know with what eagerness I have ever sought a reconciliation; not only because it is necessary for the common interest of our families and kingdoms; but from my tender friendship for you. I desire you to give me yours, which I have so earnestly solicited, such as it should always subsist between an uncle and nephew, and you may rely on my readiness to oblige you in all things. I send this by a common courier, with which it appears from the nuntio's letter, your majesty will be satisfied for the present, and shall defer nominating an ambassador, till I know your intentions, to which I shall willingly conform myself.”

In his letter to the queen, he observes :

“ After expressing to the king, my uncle, my

CHAP. 38. acknowledgments for the consent he has given  
 1726. to our reconciliation, I could not forbear returning my thanks to your majesty, being persuaded that you have much contributed to it. There is such a tender union between you, that he can have no sentiment but what is yours. I beg you to entertain for me, such as a nephew may expect from an aunt, and you may be assured of a perfect friendship on my part. I pray earnestly to God, that you may be soon and happily delivered, and I wish you in particular every thing which may promote your felicity."

A letter from Fleury himself was less satisfactory. After some general expressions of his joy at the restoration of harmony, and his zeal for the union of the two crowns, he suggested that only one thing was wanting to complete his satisfaction, a reconciliation with the king of England, which was the principal means of promoting a general pacification.\*

But, notwithstanding the damp which this unwelcome hint threw on the ardent hopes of the two sovereigns, the overture was received

\* Walpole Papers, Aug. 1, 1727.

This account of the reconciliation is principally drawn from Montgon, and from a Narrative of the Transactions between France and Spain, MS. in the Walpole and Orford papers.—Memoires de Villars, t. 3, passim.—Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. 16.

with complacency; the queen, deceived by the apparent facility of Fleury, flattered herself, that she might yet be avenged on England, and render Spain the bond of union between France and Austria.

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## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-NINTH.

1727—1728.

*Cavils and delays of the court of Madrid in regard to the execution of the preliminaries—Hostile preparations of England—Mission of Mr. Keene and count Rottembourg, as english and french plenipotentiaries to Madrid—Audiences of Rottembourg—Spirit and resentment of the queen—She induces Rottembourg to accept a modification of the preliminaries in favour of the spanish demands—Acquiescence of the english and dutch ministers—Effects of this supposed accommodation—England persists in rejecting the proposed modification of Spain—Extorts the concurrence of France—Remonstrances and threats of the Hanover allies—Chicanery and obstinacy of the queen—Motives which induced her to recede—Illness of the king—Act of the Pardo.*

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THE sovereigns of Spain accepted the preliminaries, merely to avoid immediate hostilities from the squadrons which hovered on their coasts, and interrupted the communication with America. But no form of words could be devised sufficiently explicit to curb that spirit of chicanery which marked all their proceedings; and therefore they employed endless quibbles to elude the execution. They made the cessation of the attack on Gibraltar depend on the actual departure of the british squadrons from their coasts; they retained the Prince Frederic, not as a

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prize taken in actual war, but as a reprisal for damages, or as condemned for an illegal commerce; they refused to distribute the effects of the flota, under the pretence that the preliminaries had not been executed on the part of England.

The emperor, whose subsidies were to cease on the opening of the congress, omitted no art or machination to prolong the dispute; while the quibbling spirit of the court of Madrid was encouraged by the secret intimations of Chauvelin, and the general disposition of the whole french cabinet. Even Fleury himself was not disinclined to gratify Spain, if means could be found to soothe the jealousy of England.

Various circumstances contributed to favour this temporising system. The only channel of public intercourse with the court of Madrid, was Mr. Vandermeer, the dutch ambassador, who, besides being deficient in personal weight and influence, was perplexed by the jarring want of concert, and even by the contradictory orders from France and England.

To complete this series of difficulties, the king, afflicted with his hypochondriac malady, was incapable of serious application. The queen was also confined by her recent delivery, and would permit no business to be transacted till she was sufficiently recovered to resume her usual

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controul. Konigseg usurped the controul over every operation of government. La Paz was his creature; and the changeable Monteleon, who, without being a minister, possessed considerable influence, was too dexterous a politician not to bow before the idol of the day. Though Patiño, as minister of the finances, was disgusted with the insatiable avidity of the court of Vienna, he also was too sensible of the frail tenure by which he held his office, to oppose the ruling passion of the queen, and the power of the german party.

Much time was passed in this uncertainty. As Vandermeer was referred from minister to minister without obtaining a decisive answer, and prevented from appealing directly to the sovereign under various pretences; as an actual war was scarcely more burthensome than such a delusive truce, the british government assumed that decisive tone which in former instances had overborne the lukewarmness of their friends, and the opposition of their enemies. The british squadrons were reinforced; the harbour of Cadiz blockaded; vigorous measures were adopted for striking that blow which had been suspended by the hope of peace. To give an authentic expression to their sentiments, a national representative was sent to Madrid.

From punctilio or policy the example was imi-


tated by France. The recent birth of the infant Don Philip was taken as the motive for announcing the public reconciliation of the two bourbon courts, and deputing a regular ambassador, to convey the order of the Holy Ghost to the new born infant, and to compliment the queen on her delivery.

The representative of England was Mr. Keene, who had long resided in Spain as agent to the south sea company, and had acquired the confidence of the government by his intelligence, capacity, and perfect acquaintance with the language and country. The mission from France was filled by the count of Rottembourg, a nobleman of great talents, and suavity of manners; but a partisan of the old court, and selected for the office at the suggestion of the king and queen of Spain. To preserve the requisite cordiality and union, the general instructions of the two ministers were reciprocally communicated, and they were enjoined to act in perfect concert and confidence. They were ordered to require that the court of Spain should raise the blockade of Gibraltar, restore all captures without reserve, and distribute the property brought by the flota.

The instructions of Rottembourg, in addition to the general orders, which he received in common with Mr. Keene, contained particular direc-



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tions regarding the relative situation of the two bourbon courts. Besides the usual information concerning the characters and views of the different ministers, particular stress was laid on the language and conduct which he was to hold towards the queen, as the main spring of all political transactions.

“ You shall not enter, of your own accord, into any detail at the first audience ; but shall ask the king and queen when you may discourse with them upon some points, which relate to the interests of the two monarchies, hinting, that notwithstanding your earnest desire to treat directly with so intelligent a prince and princess, who have so much friendship for the king their nephew, yet you will willingly open yourself to any minister whom their majesties shall please to appoint. At the same time, without evincing any distrust of any of the ministers, you will intimate that there are some things not to be confided but to the king, and to another-self. For those, the king of France will be gratified if his majesty has no other minister but the queen his consort. This manner of flattering the queen is necessary, because she is not ignorant that her designs have been much suspected ; and she has often affected to treat those well, who, by birth or any other tie, are thought to have an affection for this country. It must not likewise


be omitted, that, though the queen has great influence over her husband, yet she is occasionally obliged to yield, in things which are repugnant to his sentiments in favour of France. Hence, great caution must be employed not to induce her to suspect that endeavours are used to lessen her influence, or the confidence which the king reposes in her.”\*

The two plenipotentiaries arrived at Madrid nearly at the same time, but experienced a different reception. From the inveterate resentment of the queen against England, as well as to mark a decided preference for France, Mr. Keene was not permitted to deliver his credentials for several weeks, and consequently the whole negotiation was thrown into the hands of Rottembourg, who was honoured with all the privileges of a family ambassador. The views of the court of Spain were likewise facilitated by this expedient. Rottembourg, zealously attached to the old bourbon principles, and looking forward to the blue ribbon which was to reward the successful result of his embassy, gradually became a lukewarm advocate for what, in his confidential correspondence, he called “the petty interests of England.”† The french

\* Instructions of the king of France to count Rottembourg, Sept. 16, 1727, NS. Official translation—Orford Papers.

† Mem. de Villars, t. 3, p. 362.

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court, however, as well as its ambassador, professed the most perfect cordiality towards England, and in the early period of the negotiation, not only a mutual confidence was maintained on both sides, but the official dispatches of the two ministers were reciprocally communicated. From these we are enabled to trace the progress of this singular negotiation, and to exhibit the haughty, acute, and impetuous temper of the queen, who usurped the whole management of the transaction.

In the first audience, Rottembourg experienced a proof of that pertinacious resentment which marked her character. When introduced into the royal apartment, after the usual compliment, he intreated their catholic majesties to forget the injuries they had sustained from the former government in France. The queen, purposely employed in a work of embroidery, did not deign to honour him with an answer, nor even with a look. Philip was moved with affection towards his nephew, and his native country. He welcomed the ambassador with the kindest expressions; and, presenting him to the queen, entreated her to entertain no other sentiment towards France, than regard for the king his nephew, and solicitude for the union which ought to subsist between the two crowns.

After some hesitation, the queen began to

assume an air of cordiality. But, unable to restrain her resentment against England, she reprobated the alliance of France and England, as equally unfeeling and impolitic. Twenty times, in the course of this short audience, she repeated with emphasis, "You have sold yourselves to the english, who lord it over you as your masters!" Rottembourg had scarcely quitted the apartment, before a warm altercation took place between the two sovereigns; and the queen was heard repeating in a loud and angry tone, "Will your majesty again trust your family, who have so often deceived you?"\*


(The first audience being a mere form, the transaction of business was reserved till the second. As the principal points in dispute were on this occasion brought into discussion, and as the description of the ambassador is a correct and curious picture of the manner and character of the queen, we present it to the reader, as nearly in his own words as a translation will permit.

"I had reason to believe from my first au-

\* Keene's dispatches.

Duclos, the only author who has given a specific account of this first audience, asserts, that the ambassador threw himself on his knees, and solicited forgiveness for the affront which their catholic majesties had received from the former government. We entertained too much doubt of this fact to insert it in the text, though from so respectable an authority, because it is not in the slightest degree alluded to in the dispatches of count Rottembourg and Keene, or the Memoirs of Montgon. Duclos, t. 2, p. 384.

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dience, that the only way to move the king of Spain was to employ arguments founded on his tenderness and regard towards his nephew and native country, rather than on political considerations; since I could not speak of these without adverting to the engagements between France and England, and the queen always testified her anger at the bare name of the english. Before I went to the audience, I endeavoured to engage in my interest several persons who I believe have credit with their catholic majesties, namely, the two confessors, the marquis de la Paz, and Castellar, the last of whom not only promised his own good offices, but those of his brother Patiño. All concurred in assuring me that every thing would be done for France, and nothing for England. \* \* \* \* \*

“ I began my audience by expressing to their catholic majesties my great concern at the report which had been spread, that I was come to hold the knife to their throats, and to declare war against them, if they would not blindly submit to the orders of the english. In France, I said, neither harshness nor ill humour was shewn, when a negotiation with their catholic majesties was the object: ‘ Sometimes, sometimes!’ interrupted the queen, smiling on the king. ‘ Nothing,’ I continued, ‘ was further from it than my present mission, and the orders with which




I was charged. First, to express the king my master's regard for their catholic majesties, and his great joy at the reconciliation; secondly, to intreat them to execute the preliminaries; and thirdly, to assure them of his readiness to concur in the establishment of their family."

"The queen again hastily interrupted me; 'It is not now the time to speak of this. I have no other interests than those of my husband.' As I replied with an apology, 'Well,' she added, 'what is required from us? Are we still accused of delaying the congress? Has not the king sent his ratifications to Vienna above a month ago? Has he not ordered his plenipotentiaries to repair instantly to France?'"

"I replied with a smile, 'The congress would sooner have opened, had the preliminaries been executed. The arrival of the plenipotentiaries would have been more patiently expected.'

'What,' she asked, 'do you mean by the preliminary points?' 'The restitution of the Prince Frederic,' I answered, 'and the distribution of the effects of the flota.' 'Well,' was the answer, 'did I not say so? See these english, these masters of the world, how they explain all things as they will.' 'This explanation,' I said, 'is signed by his majesty. It is the letter of the preliminaries, and the king, my master, desires nothing more.' 'If the ship was his own,' she

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rejoined, 'it should be instantly given him; but the english shall not have it.' 'Well, madam, the king, my master, will be more obliged to you, than if you gave it to him. The merit will be the same. He desires nothing more than to see a reconciliation established, which is dear to him, and cannot take place but by procuring satisfaction for his allies according to his engagements.' 'Well,' she said, 'who is to judge of this satisfaction? The king claims the vessel as his, for a thousand contraventions of the asiento; the english pretend that it belongs to them; let the congress decide!' I replied by an explanation of the article in question.

"The king then repeated twice or thrice, 'there is contraband.' I answered, 'the ministers have never alleged this reason among those which the preliminaries have obviated, nor is it adduced in the letters of the marquis de la Paz.' 'You know,' said the queen, 'that if this reason was forgotten, it is not the less cogent.' As I combated the argument of contraband, the queen again interrupted me. 'We will give you,' she said, 'a memorial.' This I accepted, with the hope of embarrassing them.

"'But if nothing more were necessary,' she continued, 'than to ask, give us Gibraltar, and we will give the vessel.' Smiling, I said, 'if Gibraltar was in the hands of the king, my

master, I am persuaded he would sacrifice it; but it is not the time to stipulate for new reciprocities, after the signature of the preliminaries, which restored all things to the same situation as before 1725.' CHAP. 39.  
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“ ‘Sir,’ she asked, ‘do you know why we acquiesced in this date of 1725?’ To the remark, ‘for no other reason than to facilitate the peace, by suspending the difficulties which had troubled it till the congress of Cambray could effect an amicable arrangement,’ ‘I shall give you,’ she rejoined, ‘other reasons.’ She asked the king for the key of his casket; he gave it her, and she went towards the head of the bed to open it.

“ I took this opportunity to press the king, from a tender regard to his nephew and country, to shew such condescension as would pacify matters; and urged that a prince so generous and disinterested, the depository of all the riches in the world, should not incur the reproach of provoking a war for the sake of a single vessel. The queen, instantly turning, interrupted me, ‘Is it not just that the english, who are so affluent, should give a few millions to the king? If we were foolish enough to be thrown off our guard, we should be laughed at. True, the riches of the world pass through the king’s hands, but the smallest part, nevertheless, remains



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in Spain; and this you would wrest from us, to give to your good friends the english.'

"As I attempted to advert to the fidelity due from the king to his allies, she resumed her discourse, still searching in the casket. 'You in France are nothing but english. You were not enemies to the emperor till since his alliance with my husband. Before, he was your great friend. Do you remember that, during the congress of Cambray, we pressed you to procure satisfaction to Spain from the emperor? Yet you never would. There was, however, nothing to fear. But we no sooner made peace, than you joined against us, from caprice, and without knowing why.'

"At length she found a letter from the king of England, promising the restoration of Gibraltar, and dated the first of June, 1721.\* While I was reading it, she observed, 'perhaps it is forged.' Answering that I believed it original, 'I am glad,' she rejoined, laughing, 'to furnish you with such an excuse. See, sir, the principal reason for admitting the term of 1725. Let your allies fulfil their part, we will fulfil ours. Let them restore to us what they have. With what right do they come to blockade our ports?' Thinking she had silenced me, she turned towards the king.

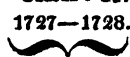
\* See ch. 31. And Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 34.

“As, however, I adduced proofs, that their engagements were intended to trouble Europe, ‘If we had wished to trouble it,’ she observed, ‘we had a fine game. We had a powerful army in Catalonia; and all your places on that side were unprovided.’ I urged this circumstance as a proof of our confidence in their catholic majesties. ‘You ought not, however,’ she continued, ‘to have so much, after the example you have given. You, who supplied the imperialists with money; to rob us of Sicily! You, who took Fuenterrabia and St. Sebastian! You, who joined the english to destroy our marine, to burn our ships in our very docks! You, lastly, from whom we can expect no other treatment, while the king, your master, places no dependance on the counsels of his uncle, and listens to people sold to the english! Mr. Walpole is your master in France. I wish I had Mr. Walpole and the cardinal here. We would dispute of religion and policy; we would see whether my arguments would not preponderate.’

“To end a conversation growing too warm, I lamented my ill success; and after touching on the affection of the king towards my master, affected to retire. The queen, resuming the discourse, asked if I had no expedient to propose, As I replied in the negative, and continued to retreat, she stopped me with the question,

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‘ Suppose we put the vessel in sequestration till the congress shall decide ?’ I coolly asked, with whom ? She added, ‘ with the king your master.’

“ I endeavoured to shew the inconveniencies and inadequacy of this expedient ; but the queen persisting, I turned towards the king, and observing that equivocations were dangerous, asked if he commissioned me to make the proposition ? I was interrupted by the queen, who added, ‘ Yes, and let the king your master agree not to restore it without the consent of the king my husband.’ On which the king said, ‘ Yes.’

“ I then proceeded to ask the king if he would cause the effects of the flota to be distributed. The queen again resumed the discourse. ‘ Yes,’ she said, ‘ when the english have quitted the coasts of America and Spain.’ ‘ It should be done,’ I observed, ‘ at the same time, for it is not just that every thing should be fulfilled on one side and nothing on the other.’

“ ‘ Well,’ she continued, ‘ if the king, your master, will himself become a guarantee for the retreat of the english squadrons, we will consent to give up the effects of the flota ; and when the english ships have retired, we will withdraw the troops which, from a point of honour, are kept before Gibraltar.’

“ I distinctly recapitulated these three propo-

sitions, stating that there was no reason to expect they would be relished ; I even hinted at the impolicy of shewing so little consideration towards the english, who were joint guarantees of the succession to the italian states in favour of Don Carlos. ‘ You are come again,’ exclaimed the queen, ‘ to your successions ! I voluntarily abandon them, if Gibraltar is restored to the king. You see by what I say in his presence, that his glory and interests only affect me.’

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“ As the conversation had lasted above an hour and a quarter, I made my bow to retire, and the queen dismissed me with a compliment, saying, ‘ Come and see us when you will without ceremony ; we shall be glad to chat with you.’ ”

This account will suffice to shew the general tone which prevailed in the audiences of the french minister ; for the same propositions were repeatedly brought forward with different modifications, and supported with all the arguments which the pertinacity, acuteness, and resentment, of the queen could suggest. On one hand she spared no effort to weary the patience or work on the feelings of the french ministry ; on the other she caught at every pretence to gain time, that she might regulate her conduct by the suggestions of the austrian cabinet. Count Konig-

\* Lettre du Comte de Rottembourg à Monsieur Chauvelin, Oct. 16, 1737. Orford Papers.

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seg was permitted to guide or influence every step of the negotiation; while the spanish ministers who were not blindly subservient to him, were reduced to mere cyphers, and scarcely intrusted with a knowledge of the transaction.

The proposal to sequestrate the Prince Frederic being transmitted to Versailles, drew from the king a letter containing a positive refusal to admit this expedient. This was accompanied with a gentle complaint against the antipathy and suspicion manifested by the queen towards the english, and concluded with an affectionate appeal to the king of Spain, for the prompt and absolute execution of the preliminaries, as the surest means to preserve tranquillity; and maintain the union of the two crowns.\*

Nov. 15.

“I read this letter,” says the ambassador, “to their catholic majesties: The queen made some grimaces when I came to the part which spoke of her resentment: but at last she smiled. The king seemed much touched by the affectionate passages which it contained. He listened to it with extreme attention. When I had finished, the queen said, ‘well, we have done all they wished; they will be satisfied.’ I hinted that this new guaranty was useless, and would, in some degree, invalidate the first, which was

\* Translation of the french king's letter to count Rottembourg, Fontainebleau, Nov. 3, NS. 1727.

comprised in the other articles. ‘Why,’ asked the queen, ‘do you refuse us a satisfaction which will cost only a sheet of paper? If you gave ten synonymous guarantees, you would execute them all in fulfilling one?’ I replied, smiling, that it required much trouble to root out her suspicion of the english, who in reality were not such people as they had been described to their catholic majesties. ‘Perhaps,’ I added, ‘what I said might not please at the present moment; but having bound myself to their majesties to speak the truth, I should on a future day have the satisfaction to know that they approved my freedom. An alliance with the english has this advantage, peculiar to that nation; they subject their allies to no inconvenience by attempting to extend themselves abroad, and *their continent* is easily guaranteed.’ Turning to the king, I continued; ‘Your majesty will acknowledge that, if at the death of Charles the second, we had had the english on our side, the monarchy of Spain would not have been dismembered. The time might come when the english would not be useless to repair these losses. Besides, we were about to form a congress for a pacification which it would be advantageous to hasten.’

“Seeing their majesties listened with satisfaction, I assured the queen, that if Mr. Walpole were known to her, he would deserve her

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esteem by the moderation and respect with which he always spoke of their catholic majesties. I did not even despair of seeing the time when her majesty would approve and profit by the union which she suspects between the cardinal and Mr. Walpole. The queen laughed and said, 'You are too charitable.' Finding her in so good a humour, I recalled to her recollection her warmth in my first audiences, adding, 'Madam, employ your endeavours, that the king may place himself at the head of my master's allies; you will then see the cardinal at least as intimately connected with the spanish ambassador as with Mr. Walpole.' \*\*

From the apparent complacency which prevailed on this occasion, and the precise orders given to the french minister, it might have been imagined that this complicated negotiation was drawing to a conclusion. On the day preceding this audience, a discussion had taken place between the ambassador and the secretary la Paz, though with the invariable intervention of count Konigseg. The result of this conference was a memorial in the form of a letter, addressed by la Paz to Rottembourg, stating the question of sequestration under another shape; and changing the whole article relative to the Prince

\* Lettre du Comte de Rottembourg à M. Chauvelin, l'Escorial, Nov. 15, 1727.


Frederic in such a manner as to justify the claims of Spain for an indemnification of the damages to their commerce by the blockade of their ports and coasts. With an inconsistency which we can only attribute to the private intimations of Chauvelin, Rottembourg received and transmitted this memorial to his court; though he at the same time solicited an ostensible letter of recal, in case the king of Spain should refuse the unconditional acceptance of the preliminaries.

Meanwhile new offers were transmitted by the king of England in a letter from count Broglio the french ambassador at London, to Chauvelin. The substance of this proposition was the execution of the preliminaries in general, and the restitution of the Prince Frederic; but the question of contraband was to be referred to the congress; with full confidence in the honour of the king of Spain, that he would distribute the effects of the flota, the british squadrons were recalled. The contraventions of treaties and agreements public or private, before the year 1725, were to be remedied in a similar manner at the congress; and finally, the guaranty of the king of France was admitted for the execution of these articles.

This proposition was communicated by Rottembourg, with an eulogium on the sincerity and



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good faith of the king of England, and the confidence he had shewn towards their catholic majesties at the very moment when they evinced their diffidence of him by demanding new guarantees from France and the emperor. The king was struck with surprise at this instance of generosity, and even the queen herself appeared highly pleased. "I shall," she said, "no longer doubt the truth of any thing you may say. Hitherto I have considered your discourses in favour of the english, as proceeding from your desire to forward a reconciliation. But I am now fully satisfied."

Rottembourg replied, "As the chief articles are now settled, there is no need to wait the return of the courier, with an answer to the proposition of your majesties. I hope I may be permitted to dispatch a courier with the welcome news to my court." The queen gave signs of embarrassment at this request, and, after some hesitation, replied, "Before we adopt a final resolution, you must consult the marquis de la Paz, and count Konigseg." He was then graciously dismissed, and as he quitted the apartment, the queen in a tone of complacency said, "I wish every one was like you, for you always bring good news."\*

A conference was accordingly held with la Paz


\* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Dec. 3, 1727.

and Königseg ; at which Mr. Keene was present in his private capacity. To the surprize of the french minister, the dispute was revived on the very same points as before. It was, however, finally decided, that Rottembourg should state the last proposition in an official note, which was to be accepted and approved by la Paz in the name of his sovereign. Instead, however, of this simple approbation, la Paz drew up a new recapitulation, repeating the propositions of the king of England in general, but changing the article relative to the Prince Frederic to the same terms as had been already rejected. It was to be restored ; but the congress was to decide whether it ought not to be pledged as an indemnification for the damages done to the spanish commerce by the presence of the british squadrons in the american seas.

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Without a moment's hesitation, the french ambassador accepted the document thus modified, although he had already received the orders which he had solicited for his recal. His asseverations that no other terms would satisfy the queen, and the confidence inspired by his plausible manners and apparent candour, joined to the authority which he assumed as the only channel of direct communication with the spanish sovereigns, extorted the reluctant acquiescence

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of his colleagues, Keene and Vandermeer. It was transmitted to the different courts as an advantageous and satisfactory arrangement. To give it the stamp of authority, Mr. Keene was relieved from the political interdict to which he had been subjected, and apprised that he should shortly be admitted to the privileges of his public character.

The spanish court had not widely miscalculated on the effect which this apparent accommodation would produce in France. Although these terms had been already rejected, it is a remarkable circumstance, that the order of recal to Rottembourg was accompanied with a counter-order to protract the negotiation, and doubtless with private intimations to seize a favourable opportunity of satisfying Spain at the expence of England. It was therefore welcomed by the partisans of the old court as the harbinger of returning tranquillity, and the prelude to a more intimate connection with Spain; while the trading and mercantile classes, whose interests had suffered by the suspension of commerce, were elated with the hope that the returns of the flota would at length be faithfully distributed.

“ We must,” was the general expression, “ speak clearly to England. We must declare that we are satisfied with the offers of Spain ;

that those who are not content can only wish to involve Europe in a general war."\*


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In London, however, the sensation was far different. Large sums had been already expended in hostile preparations; the fleets had mouldered away from inactivity and disease; the lucrative trade with the spanish dominions in Europe and America was suspended, without the slightest of those advantages which would have flowed from open war. Such a mortifying uncertainty could not fail to rouse the public indignation. The national outcry was, "give us either war or peace; but let us not spend our blood and treasure in mere preparations and temporary expedients, which damp the public spirit, and disgrace the honour of the crown." Parliament was daily expected to meet; and the ministry, instead of declaring the re-establishment of tranquillity, could not venture to announce this doubtful truce to an impatient and indignant people.

However anxious for peace, the government could no longer venture to temporize. The most vigorous measures were instantly adopted. The meeting of parliament was deferred. An appeal was made to the french court to fulfil its engagements, in enforcing the execution of the preliminaries, except those concessions which

\* Memoires de Villars, t. 3, p. 360.

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the king of England had made from mere complaisance. Either, it was observed, France must disavow count Rottembourg, or the alliance of Hanover is broken, and the ties dissolved which united the two countries to their mutual advantage.

The french court and cabinet were thunderstruck with this decisive demand: there was scarcely a nobleman or minister who did not urge that it was more becoming the national honour to adhere to Spain, than submit to the dictates of the british cabinet. Even Fleury wavered, in the hope of inducing England to relax in her demands. But, finding the british cabinet inflexible, he prudently decided to preserve peace and the connection with England, rather than sacrifice the welfare and tranquillity of the nation to the punctilios of romantic honour, and the imperious cupidity of the queen of Spain.\*

Accordingly, a letter was sent to count Rottembourg, in the name of the king, insisting, in the strongest terms, on the prompt and literal execution of the preliminaries. "I am," he

\* In Mr. Walpole's Papers are several curious dispatches on this subject, shewing the energy and effect with which he supported the demands of his court, and extorted the consent of Fleury to a cordial co-operation with England, particularly the dispatches to the duke of Newcastle, Paris, Dec. 17, 24, and 27, 1727.


observes, “ concerned and astonished at these new conditions, which can produce no other effect, than to embarrass the execution of what should precede the opening of the congress, and which tend to annul the preliminary articles, or at least to gain time for new interpretations. It would be dishonourable and shameful to my allies, and consequently to myself, should I accept them, and I should justly incur the reproaches of all Europe.” This letter was accompanied with an ostensible order of recal, and a memorial to the same effect from the secretary of state.

Great as was the sensation occasioned by these propositions in France and England, the rejection of them excited a still greater at Madrid.

“ I found M. la Paz,” says Rottembourg, “ who is usually very phlegmatic, in a ferment of rage, in consequence of the letter which he had received from Paris. As he spoke without an interpreter, I comprehended little of what he said, except that he was going to revoke the orders which he had expedited in conformity with his letter, and to prevent the introduction of Mr. Keene, who was to have his first audience at four in the afternoon. Finding my arguments fruitless, I only told him that his impetuosity would spoil more in a quarter of an hour, than he would ever be able to remedy.

“ To prevent the ill effects of his passion, I

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called on the archbishop of Amida, and persuaded him to charge himself with the office of procuring the promised audience for Mr. Keene, which took place at the appointed hour, and in the most gracious manner.

“Yesterday I was admitted to the presence of the king and queen, on their return from shooting. I delivered to them the letter of the king, and told them that, without entering into the reasons which induced his majesty to disapprove the conditions proposed by M. de la Paz, I should only observe, that I had faithfully communicated to them his majesty's orders of the 8rd and 10th of November, and the letter from M. Broglio, which must form the foundation of our proceedings. The extension of the conditions in the letter of M. de la Paz, I said, was laid upon me, in consequence of the declaration that, without this extension, their catholic majesties would never comply with the demands.

“I added, ‘I now find from the remarks of M. Chauvelin, that the extension of the second article will never be admitted.’ I then produced the memorial, and read that clause, and the other relating to impartial powers.

“The queen asked me if the satisfaction required for the king of Spain was not stipulated in the second article. I answered, ‘equally to all the contracting parties.’ ‘We are then,’

she rejoined, 'included. If your intentions are upright, you ought not to reject this explanation; if not, we have nothing to do with the congress, because it is only to judge of reciprocal infractions. We do not demand an uncertain compensation; we only require it to be taken into consideration, whether we ought to have a compensation or not.' To my remark, 'that one party had no right to explain preliminaries settled by several, and that the additions to the letter of count Broglio were not made with the consent of France and England,' she interrupted me, 'True, but Bournonville, you will recollect, signed the preliminaries without our knowledge.' I replied, 'M. Bournonville signed for his master, I for a foreign king.' 'Mr. Keene was present,' said the queen. I answered 'yes, but accidentally. He had only appeared as a visitor to M. de la Paz, and had done nothing but interpret and translate, without speaking a single word from himself. Besides, he had not delivered his credentials, and had not affixed his signature.' The king remarked, 'You are right.' I then took the whole blame on myself for exceeding my instructions, on an occasion when it was signified to me, on the part of her majesty, that nothing less would terminate the negotiation. I did not hesitate to say, 'I had wofully deceived



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myself, because this unfortunate addition might occasion a war.'

"The queen said, 'There will be no war. The allies of Hanover will never incur such a disproportionate expence, while five or six millions will suffice to defend the spanish frontier. If we should lose a few places, they will be restored at the peace, and we have effects enough in our hands to render the allies accountable for that sum.' 'Well,' I rejoined, 'the emperor will not be quit on such easy terms; and we have sufficient proofs that the court of Vienna raises all these difficulties.' 'No,' she replied, with emphasis, 'It is I who ordered the explanatory article to be inserted. If France and England acquiesce, well; we shall deem them sincere in their professions to satisfy Spain. If they reject it, they design to deceive us. Besides, we demand no preference, we only require others to submit to the same laws as ourselves.' '\*

After some further conversation in the same tone, the ambassador was dismissed without satisfaction.

His representations were accordingly supported in the strongest manner by M. Vandermeer, who had not waited for orders to retract,

\* Lettre du Comte de Rottembourg à M. Chauvelin, Madrid, Dec. 20, 1726.

and by Mr. Keene, who now assumed the functions of a public minister. They all concurred in announcing, that further delays would give rise to immediate hostilities.

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Indignant and disappointed, the queen appeared inclined to risk the fortune of war, and demanded of Patiño whether the country was in a state to maintain a contest. The minister did not venture to give a direct negative, but hinted that the effects of the flota would only be sufficient to supply the expences of a defensive war, without furnishing subsidies to foreign princes. She then ordered a heavy indulto to be laid on these effects; and to the remonstrances of Rotterdam, she replied, “ The king is master in his own dominions, and may lay what tax he pleases on his own subjects. Besides, what have foreigners to do with our flota ? ”

While she yet hesitated, the first parliament of George the second assembled in England. The speech from the throne expressed a hope of a final and satisfactory accommodation; but recommended proper measures of precaution. The appeal produced an unanimous and liberal grant of men and money; and immediate reinforcements were accordingly dispatched to the squadrons stationed off the coasts of Spain.

The allies, however, did not solely rely on the effect of public menaces, but omitted no endea-

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your to work on the temper of the queen, and influence those about her person. Bribes were lavished on her attendants, and menaces were not spared to her confessor, that her refusal would be imputed to his instigation, and that his family, to whom he was affectionately attached, would suffer for his indiscretion. The impending danger did not fail to alarm even the ministers who had been promoted by the german interest. All joined in representing the fatal consequences of delay, and deprecating a war, for an object so comparatively trifling as the Prince Frederic.

Even the emperor himself was at length intimidated by the strength and aspect of the Hanover allies, and the lukewarmness of his own adherents. Conscious that the principal burthen of a conflict would fall on Austria, he ordered Konigseg no longer to foment the resentment of the queen, but to join in recommending the prompt acceptance of the proffered terms. This sudden change of conduct only served to inflame her resentment. She turned her indignation against the emperor, and publicly stigmatised Konigseg as the advocate of England.

The real cause which vanquished her pertinacity, was the uncertain health of the king, who, at this particular moment, was reduced to the most alarming state. She removed him from

public observation to the royal residence of the Pardo; but his incapacity for business daily increasing, she first admitted the prince of Asturias into the council, and finally procured the signature of a royal decree, constituting her governess of the kingdom. She now became seriously apprehensive, lest the death of her husband should frustrate her favourite project of an establishment in Italy, and reduce her to the melancholy fate which awaits the queen dowagers of Spain. She, therefore, employed the powers with which she was vested to accelerate an accommodation. At length Philip, by the act of the Pardo, announced his absolute and unequivocal acceptance of the preliminaries, modified according to the concessions of Great Britain, and under the guaranty of the king of France. This act was accepted by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, and Holland, at Madrid, and by count Konigseg, on the part of the emperor. The intended meeting of the congress was transferred from Aix la Chapelle to Soissons, for the convenience of cardinal Fleury, on whom, in quality of french plenipotentiary, the principal conduct of the negotiation devolved.\*


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March,  
1728.

The commission of Rottembourg being thus fulfilled, he returned for a short time to France,

\* Act of the Pardo, in the collections of public papers.

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and in the interval was replaced by the marquis of Brancas.

The king having soon experienced a favourable turn in his disorder, the queen induced him to announce his recovery by returning with regal pomp to Madrid, re-establishing his residence at the Buen Retiro, and ostensibly resuming the reins of government. By persuading him frequently to appear in public, she likewise endeavoured to remove the impression made by his recent malady, as well as to allay the general suspicions of a relapse. To give, however, additional effect to these exhibitions, which were intended to satisfy the public mind, the queen herself, in gratitude for his recovery, made a nine days pilgrimage to the chapel of our lady of Atocha, the peculiar object of royal devotion as the patroness of Spain; and wore the franciscan habit for a twelvemonth, in compliance with a vow made to St. Anthony of Padua.\*

\* Mr. Keene's dispatches, April 19, 1728.

CHAPTER THE FORTIETH.

1728—1731.


*Tardy and inefficient proceedings of the Congress of Soissons—Obstructions to the execution of the preliminaries by Spain—Hypochondriac malady of Philip, and power of the queen—His ineffectual attempt to abdicate—Illness of Louis the fifteenth, and new hopes of Philip to succeed to the french crown—Secret plans of the courts of Madrid and Vienna—Double marriage between the families of Spain and Portugal—Establishment of the royal residence at Seville—Increasing malady of the king—Separation of the courts of Spain and Austria—Treaties of Seville and Vienna—Disgrace of Montgon—Death of St. Philip.*

THE congress of Soissons was opened on the 14th of June, 1728, for the termination of all the disputes which had so long agitated Europe; and as the alliance of Vienna had apparently left no point of contention between Spain and the emperor, it was hoped that a speedy arrangement might be effected. But the same jealousies and bickerings which, in the preceding meeting at Cambray, had frustrated all efforts to mediate an accommodation, were now renewed, and produced a similar effect. The interminable disputes between the emperor and the maritime powers, relative to the barrier treaty \* and the

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\* House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 3.

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Ostend company, were again revived with redoubled acrimony. Spain also brought forward the demand of Gibraltar, and mutual accusations were respectively produced by England and Spain, relative to the english settlements, and contraband trade carried on with the coasts of South America.

England and France, though apparently united in the same design of separating Spain from the emperor, and hastening a general pacification, were actuated by different interests. France secretly wished to effect a cordial union with Spain, and to oppose the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction; England was anxious to secure the renewal of her lucrative commerce with Spain, and to revive her antient and popular connection with the House of Austria. The only obstacles to such a reconciliation, were derived from the refusal of the emperor to suppress the Ostend company, and to comply with the demands of George the second, as elector of Hanover.

The personal friendship and confidence which long habit had produced between Mr. Walpole and cardinal Fleury, and the pacific principles which reigned in the french cabinet, suspended the dissolution of an alliance founded on mutual, but temporary interest, till long after the operation of that interest had ceased. But it could

not be expected that personal regard would continue to outweigh political principle and national sentiment. Consequently, those jealousies, and that contrariety of opinion, which afterwards occasioned its dissolution, began to manifest themselves during the congress of Soissons.\*


These discordant interests, and the pertinacity of Spain and Austria, rendered the proceedings of the congress a mere routine of forms, and a repetition of memorials and counter-memorials without leading to the decision of a single contested point. At length the Hanover allies, to terminate such fruitless, irritating, and inconclusive discussions, proposed to draw up a provisional treaty, comprehending the principal points relative to the re-establishment of peace on the same foundation as before the year 1725, and referring all inferior questions to the examination of commissioners, who might proceed in the arrangement without interruption to peace and commerce in general.

This proposal was accepted by the imperial, and after some delay even by the spanish plenipotentiary. But the project itself experienced the most pertinacious opposition from both the courts of Madrid and Vienna. The king of Spain endeavoured to renew the former discussions under another shape, by insisting that many

\* Memoirs of lord Walpole, ch. 16.



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points should be introduced into the provisional treaty, which in the project had been referred to commissioners. The interests of the queen now began to predominate: the demand of Gibraltar, and the commercial disputes, was superseded by instances for the introduction of spanish, instead of neutral garrisons into the fortresses of Tuscany and Parma. To prevent, however, the further progress of this negotiation, Philip recalled his plenipotentiary, the duke of Bourbonville, under the pretence of rendering an account of his proceedings, and refused to give a definitive answer relative to the provisional treaty, before his arrival at Madrid. Bourbonville accordingly departed in October, and after being detained at Paris by real or affected illness appeared at Madrid in December. From the period of his departure, the court of Vienna also suspended all intercourse with the congress.

During these transactions, new agitations filled the court of Madrid; new interests and projects engrossed the attention of Philip and his queen.

The first event was the temporary illness of Don Ferdinand, prince of Asturias, who was seized with the small pox; whose death, by opening the succession of Spain to Don Carlos, would have changed the views of the queen with regard to an establishment in Italy.


†

The hypochondriac malady of the king continued to increase, and occasionally gained an empire over his reason. Sometimes he passed whole days in bed, inverting the ordinary habits of life, and changing night into day, and day into night. He gave midnight audiences to foreign ambassadors, detained his own ministers in the transaction of business till the dawn, and at other times did not admit them into his presence for several weeks. In these paroxysms he reverted to his former scruples. He not only expressed his resolution to abdicate, but made various attempts to escape from the palace and carry it into effect. Every precaution was taken to seclude the doting monarch: no person was admitted to his presence without a special order; the queen herself watched all his motions; the locks of the apartments were frequently changed; the guards were strictly enjoined to prevent him from quitting the palace. But all these precautions were not sufficient. He profited by the moment when the queen, fatigued with watching, had retired into another apartment, wrote a decree with his own hand, and sent it by his favourite valet to the council of Castile, with the injunction to notify his abdication, and proclaim his son Ferdinand.\*

June.

\* Mr. Keene's dispatches, June 1728. *Memoires de Montgon*, t. 6, p. 273.—*Villars*, t. 3, p. 394.—*Duclos*, t. 2, p. 57, erroneously places this incident in 1729.

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The queen, soon discovering what had passed, sent the marquis de la Roche, secretary of the cabinet, to prevent the proclamation, and if possible to recover this dangerous document. Fortunately the president, the archbishop of Valencia, to whom it was carried, was her creature, and had delayed the execution under the pretence of form. Her messenger therefore arrived at the moment when the council was on the point of fulfilling the order. The dangerous paper was destroyed; redoubled precautions taken to prevent the repetition of a similar scene; and, to vanquish one scruple with another, an oath extorted from the king, that he would not again renew his clandestine attempts to abdicate.\*

As his bodily health was not impaired by his mental disorder, the queen did not, as before, publicly assume the government; with the assistance of the ministers, she directed all operations in his name, and sanctioned the public acts with the stamp employed to spare the royal hand the labour of signing the numerous acts which occur in the ordinary course of business.


The power which this seclusion of the king threw into her hands, enabled her to pursue her designs with less obstruction than when he

\* Mr. Keene's dispatches.—Memoires de Villars, t. 3, p. 397.  
—Montgon, t. 6, p. 273.

retained his faculties unimpaired; for, with frequent incapacity, and general aversion to business, Philip was peculiarly jealous of his authority, and on the slightest suspicion of a design to deceive or bias his judgment, sunk into a state of sullen obstinacy. With this temper, notwithstanding the means which the queen possessed to influence his conduct, it required consummate art and self command to disguise her wishes, and make her suggestions appear as his own reflections. She constantly assisted at the audiences of foreign ministers, and generally engrossed the discourse; yet, she always affected a perfect submission to the king, and indignantly repelled the slightest allusion to her own advantage, declaring that she had no interest but that of her husband; no glory but that of Spain. But with this exterior of docility and disinterestedness, she was indefatigably vigilant to prevent any other person from influencing the mind of the king; she frequently conquered his obstinacy by superior address and perseverance, and gave private audiences, or received private communications through the channel of the marquis de-la Paz, and her confessor.

The malady of the king liberated her from these restraints. She now gave public audiences, became the principal or only channel of communication with the king, and acted as the minister

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in obtaining his approbation or signature to the acts of government. To her predominant influence, we may justly attribute the conduct of the spanish court, since the opening of the congress of Soissons, and the increase of the austrian influence, which daily acquired strength at Madrid.

Before the return of the spanish plenipotentiary from Soissons, Philip was roused from his morbid melancholy by the illness of the king of France, who was attacked with symptoms of the small pox, on the 26th of October. Though the disorder was slight; yet, from those accidents which frequently attend such moments of anxiety, a temporary suspension took place in the regular communication between Paris and Madrid. This incident was sufficient to cause the strongest agitation in the minds of Philip and his queen, who anticipated the death of Louis, and considered themselves as already in possession of the french throne.

Mr. Keene has preserved an account of their behaviour on this trying occasion, communicated by one of their familiar attendants.

Nov. 9, 1728.

“ They expressed great uneasiness at not having news from France, and concluded from thence that the king was dead, and the communication between the two kingdoms was stopped. The queen asked him what he designed to do


upon this important accident; he replied, he would go into France with her and the rest of the royal family, leaving Don Carlos in Spain. That if he was invited by France, there would then be no difficulty. If he was not, he would set out without delay for the capital, and, presenting himself where he knew he should be well received, would proceed to the first parliament to have himself acknowledged king, and they who refused it would deserve chastisement. The queen proposed to have the *officiers de la Bouche* advertised to keep themselves in readiness. But he refused, and told her that some of them had already rode post with him, and that when they should arrive in France, they would not want servants to attend them.

“ There were several other circumstances passed between them, as that if he was once in France he should be easy; that business was dispatched in a different manner in that country to what it is in this; that there was much more magnificence; but there was one party of which he was apprehensive, which was the jansenists. And they had reason to be against him, for if ever he came to be in possession of the crown of France, he would drive them out of the kingdom.”\*

In this crisis the queen sent for Montgon, and

\* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle.

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gave him a private audience at midnight, to consult him on the momentous question which was now in agitation. But instead of the information which was expected from him as an agent of the duke of Bourbon, he detailed his past grievances and representations, and concluded with an ill-timed demand of the post of counsellor of state, or foreign ambassador. He was accordingly dismissed with vague offers and promises of protection. He, however, informs us that the journey to France engrossed the public conversation, describes the exultation of the french partisans at Madrid, and observes, that a suspense of twenty four hours longer would have hurried Philip and his queen into some desperate measure.\*

The arrival of a courier speedily dissipated their hopes and fears, by bringing intelligence of the french king's recovery. This incident, and the struggle of contending passions which it occasioned, were sufficient to rouse Philip from a long fit of apathy and dejection. He quitted his bed; permitted his beard of eight months growth to be shaved; returned thanks at the chapel of our lady of Atocha, and resumed his ordinary mode of life, and the exercise of the chase.†

Meanwhile some new scheme appears to have

\* Montgon, t. 7, p. 68, 75.      † Mr. Keene's dispatches.


been planned between the restless courts of Vienna and Madrid. On the part of the emperor, hopes were held forth to the queen of a prompt and satisfactory arrangement of the Italian successions; and she was again tempted with the lures which had first induced her to form the Vienna alliance. On that of Spain, the most active preparations, both military and naval, were made; a fleet of twenty-four ships of war was already stationed in the american seas; and twenty-four sail of the line were ready for sea, or in a forward state of equipment. The most studied indifference and contempt were shewn towards France and England, every overture was evaded under the pretence of waiting the return of Bournonville; and the arrival of the galleons, which were on their way from America, was expected with an impatience which marked the anxiety of the queen to secure funds for the execution of the projects now in agitation.

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October to  
December.

To this scheme we may also attribute the resumption of a design at first formed with warmth and precipitation, and since suspended. This was the conclusion of the double marriages between the prince of Asturias and the infanta of Portugal, and the prince of Brazil with the infanta of Spain; the object of which was evidently to withdraw so important an ally as Portugal from the scale of the maritime powers.



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In the depth of winter, and shortly after the recovery of the king, to the astonishment of all, he acceded to the instances of the portuguese court; and fixed the 7th of January for his departure to the frontier, to make the formal exchange of the future brides. Every expedient was adopted to render the cavalcade worthy the magnificence of the respective sovereigns. They were attended by a numerous train, as well as by all the foreign ministers; considerable bodies of troops were drawn to the frontiers, and no expence spared to decorate the theatre of the intended ceremony. The two courts arrived at Badajos and Elvas; and the place of meeting was a temporary pavilion on the bridge over the Caya, which divides the two kingdoms.

After some ludicrous altercations for precedence, which diminished the harmony and grandeur of the scene, the two monarchs, accompanied by their respective families, at length met on the 20th of January. The contracts of marriage were formally executed, the princesses mutually exchanged; and after a short and formal interview, they separated with great marks of friendship and cordiality; but with tears of affection and regret on taking leave of their children. Mr. Keene, who witnessed the ceremony, thus describes the bride of the prince of Asturias, and future queen of Spain.

"I had placed myself very conveniently yesterday to see the first meeting of the two families; and I could not but observe, that the princess's figure, notwithstanding a profusion of gold and diamonds, really shocked the prince. He looked as if he thought he had been imposed upon. Her large mouth, thick lips, high cheek bones and small eyes, afforded him no agreeable prospect; but she is well shaped and has a good mien."\*

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After a second and third interview, less marked by the restraints of etiquette, the two courts separated, with proofs of affection and regret. The king and queen of Spain made a progress through Estremadura; and directing their route by Seville to witness the arrival of the galleons at Cadiz, they spent some months in examining the state and improvements of that great commercial and naval station. As the queen dreaded another clandestine attempt to abdicate, and consequently was anxious to cut off all immediate communication with the council of Castile,† she

Feb. 1729.

\* Mr. Keene to Mr. De la Faye, Badajos, January 20, 1729.

† "No one ever doubted," observes Mr. Keene, "that the queen of Spain's design in carrying the king her husband into Andalusia, was both to divert him from the thoughts of a second abdication, which he had unsuccessfully attempted in the year 1728, or at least to render the execution of such a design extremely difficult, by the distance he was then removed to from the council of Castile. Whilst he remained in Seville, nothing could be transacted upon that point with such secrecy and expedition but that she must come at the knowledge of it, and have time enough to prevent it; but the case was quite different at Madrid. That

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induced her husband to establish the royal residence at Seville.

March.

In consequence of the preceding causes and pretences for delay, the Hanover allies were still left in the same uncertain and irksome situation as before the act of the Pardo. The season had passed without effect; the different plenipotentiaries had gradually withdrawn from the ridiculous farce of negotiation at Soissons; the court of Madrid maintained an obstinate silence in spite of repeated representations. Not only were the same depredations continued on the subjects and commerce of the Hanover allies, but new vexations daily added, and new artifices employed to revive the discussion relative to a compensation for the blockade of the spanish ports and harbours.

The Hanover allies were thus once more compelled to resort to acts of vigour, in order to put a period to those prevarications with which the court of Spain sought again to wear away the

council was always at hand, and in virtue of their employments had a right to an audience of the king every Friday in a body, after which, by the laws and customs of Spain, the president retired into a dark room with the king alone; and made such representations, and received such directions as his duty obliged him to, or the king thought fit to give him. It is true that she made a proper choice of persons to be intrusted with these privileges; but as the matter was of the greatest importance to her, it was prudent to put it out of the power of any one to hurt her, which was effectually done by fixing her residence at Seville."—Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Segovia, Aug. 1, 1733.

season for action. The decided devotion of the queen to Austria rendered France less scrupulous than on preceding occasions. As the prelude to decisive measures, the three ministers of France, England, and Holland, joined in a common remonstrance to the spanish government, demanding the immediate execution of the preliminaries, and announcing that delay or refusal would be considered as a motive for hostility.

It is impossible to divine to what new schemes and troubles these singular and contradictory proceedings might have given rise, had not a sudden change of policy taken place in the court of Madrid. The queen had indeed accepted the preliminaries, but with a determined resolution to evade their execution. Her conduct had shewed that she still fostered an implacable resentment against France and England, and her devotion to the austrian alliance, to which she yet clung with infatuation. The subsidies to the emperor were continued; the influence of Konigseg predominated in the councils, notwithstanding the murmurs of the nation, the opposition of the ministers, and the multiplied embarrassments in which the country was involved. Nothing indeed could dissipate the illusion but the conduct of the emperor himself, and, fortunately for the public tranquillity, an event occurred to put his sincerity to the test.

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April,  
1729.

In consequence of the death of Francis, duke of Parma, the emperor instigated his successor Anthony to espouse a princess of Modena, in the hope that the birth of an heir would annul the investiture which he had reluctantly granted to an infant of Spain. Notwithstanding his repeated professions, he made endless objections to the introduction of spanish garrisons into the italian fortresses. He sent his agents into the petty courts of Italy, to counteract the spanish interest; and spared no research to trace out and revive obsolete pretensions of the empire to fiefs in Parma and Tuscany, in order to diminish, as far as possible, the value of that inheritance. He alternately made overtures to France and England, and insinuated that his desertion of Spain might be purchased by the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction. These intrigues were discovered, and communicated to the queen by Monteleon, who, at this period, was again sent into Italy, on the mission to which we have before adverted.

Patiño also found, from fatal experience, that the finances were unequal to answer the continual demands of the emperor; and that this drain, if not checked, would frustrate his great design of restoring commerce, and reviving the marine, which had so long been the darling object of the nation. He, therefore, began openly




to express his disapprobation of the Vienna alliance, and found little difficulty in adducing proofs of insincerity on the part of the emperor. This opposition excited a bitter enmity between him and Konigseg, and led to frequent altercations, which hastened the decline of the austrian interest. He publicly attributed all the obstacles which had delayed an accommodation to the insatiable cupidity of the imperial court, and in answer to a formal accusation presented against him by Konigseg, replied, "The king, if he pleases, may send me to Italy; but while I remain in his service, I will never submit to concessions unworthy a minister of Spain."\* Even the very courtiers discovered the change which was taking place, and raised a clamour against the mischiefs of the german alliance, which, as Mr. Keene justly observes, a few weeks before, would have been considered a species of political blasphemy.†

The multiplied proofs of the emperor's insincerity, which appeared from every quarter, and the representations of a minister who possessed her full confidence, made a gradual impression on the queen. Of this disposition the Hanover allies did not neglect to profit. By their ministers, Keene and Brancas, they expressed the

\* Mr. Keene's dispatches.

† Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Dec. 20, 1727.

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utmost readiness to gratify their catholic majesties in all things which might contribute to the establishment of Don Carlos in Italy, and testified their willingness to concur in the admission of spanish garrisons; provided Spain would execute the preliminary articles.

These considerations fixed the decision of the queen. On one side, suspecting the emperor, on the other, dreading to lose by delay the advantages tendered by the allies, she made a direct application to the court of Vienna, either to bring their sincerity to the test, or obtain a pretext for a rupture. She demanded a prompt and explicit declaration, in writing, of the emperor's intentions with regard to the marriage of his daughter to a spanish prince, and to the introduction of spanish garrisons into Parma and Tuscany. An evasive answer convinced her that she had nothing to expect but equivocation and delay, and she instantly turned to the Hanover allies. She did not, however, act with weakness or precipitation, but, with all her impatience, displayed the consummate address of her nation. She played off the emperor against the allies, and the allies against the emperor; she even made an effort to separate France from England; by the means of Chauvelin, she brought forward a scheme for an accommodation, conceived in vague terms with regard to the

August.

interests of England, and leaving the privileges of trade, and the right to Gibraltar and Minorca, to the decision of neutral powers. Even the cardinal accepted the proposal; but on this, as preceding occasions, he was over-ruled by the energetic remonstrances of Mr. Walpole.\*

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Lastly, after a long delay, she made an appeal to the gratitude and generosity of the french and english nations, by distributing the effects of the flota and galleons.

While she was yet cavilling and caballing, and employing all the resources of a consummate statesman, to extort more advantageous terms, the birth of a dauphin, by diminishing the chances of an eventual succession in France, raised the value of a more certain, though less splendid establishment in Italy. Accordingly, these long pending negotiations were closed by a treaty signed at Seville, November 9, 1729, which instantly broke the connection between Spain and Austria.


Sept. 4,  
1729.

The treaty of Seville was a defensive alliance between Spain, England, and France, to which Holland afterwards acceded. After the usual guarantees and stipulations of reciprocal assistance, and the confirmation of preceding treaties, Spain revoked all the privileges granted to the subjects of the emperor by the treaties of Vienna,

\* Memoirs of Lord Walpole, ch. 16.



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re-established the english commerce in America on the former footing, restored all captures with reparation for damages, and promised to prevent future depredations. Commissaries were also to be appointed to settle the disputes between England and Spain, concerning the american trade, and decide on the claims of Spain for the restitution of the ships taken off the coast of Sicily in 1721. The pretensions to Gibraltar were again passed over in silence.\*

Regulations were made to secure the succession of Parma and Tuscany, and the attention and minuteness with which they were framed, prove the solicitude of the queen, and the anxiety of the allies to meet her wishes. The allies took on themselves the introduction of spanish garrisons, and formally engaged to defend Don Carlos against any power who might attempt to disturb him in the succession. Separate articles were also added, to render more prompt and effectual

\* Philip now evidently relinquished all hope of recovering Gibraltar; for, to cut off its communication with the interior, he constructed the strong lines of San Roque, across the isthmus, and invited inhabitants to settle in the neighbouring town of Algeziras, by extraordinary privileges. Mr. Keene, who was charged to remonstrate against the construction of these lines, observes, "As to the demolition of the works before Gibraltar, I was assured, if the whole universe should fall upon the king to make him desist, he would let himself rather be cut to pieces, than consent, since he had maturely considered his right to the ground; and we might as well pretend to Cadix, in virtue of our treaties, as to the spot where the line was. It was far out of point-blank cannon shot, which was all we could justly ask." Seville, May 20, 1731.

the intended abolition of the Ostend company, together with the restoration of commerce, and the confirmation of the asiento with England.


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The court of Madrid vainly imagined that the emperor would be awed by this alliance, and that the Italian successions would be secured without further difficulty or delay. But the sovereigns of Spain had ill calculated on his firmness and perseverance. Personally offended by their desertion, disappointed in the hopes of obtaining the guaranty of his pragmatic sanction, indignant at the forcible abolition of the Ostend company, and the loss of the Spanish subsidies, he surpassed even the queen herself, in his artifices and intrigues to prevent, or at least to suspend, the execution of this obnoxious treaty. He inveighed by turns against the court of Spain and the allies, recalled his ambassador from Madrid, and poured troops into the Milanese to give law in Italy. He endeavoured to rouse the states of Germany, and the powers of the north, and displayed an invincible resolution, rather to risk a war with all Europe, than accept the conditions imposed upon him. For a time, the want of concert between the allies, arising from their own discordant interests, encouraged and enabled him to persevere. On the death of Anthony, duke of Parma, he therefore pushed his troops into

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that duchy, and retained it in his possession under pretence that the widow was pregnant.

The delays and inactivity of France and England, and the obstinacy of the emperor, roused the irritable court of Madrid. The queen gave way to her indignation against the cardinal minister, and did not hesitate to tell the french ambassador in a public audience, “ I am the wife of a king of the House of France, yet deserted by France. We must adhere to our friends, not to our relations.”\* At her instigation, Philip, by his ambassador, declared himself free from all the engagements contracted by the treaty of Seville.

March 16,  
1731.

This prompt and decisive measure produced an instantaneous effect; for the english were alarmed at the prospect of again losing their commercial advantages. The king applied to the emperor, and at length purchased his accession to the treaty of Seville, by guarantying the pragmatic sanction, on the condition that the Ostend company should be abolished, and that his heiress should not be given to a prince of the House of Bourbon, or any sovereign so powerful as to endanger the balance of Europe. The spanish declaration was accordingly revoked, and a second treaty, concluded at Vienna on the

\* *Memoires de Villars*, t. 3, p. 206.

22nd of July, once more terminated the disputes between Philip and the emperor.

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Soon after these treaties Don Carlos took possession of Parma and Placentia, with the approbation of the emperor and empire. He was also acknowledged successor to the grand duke of Tuscany. Spanish troops were conveyed by an english fleet to occupy the fortresses of that duchy, with no other opposition than a protest issued by the pope, for the sake of form, to preserve the obsolete rights of the church.

Thus these tedious negotiations, which had kept Europe in a state of alarm and commotion for twelve years, and had broken all the ancient bonds of policy, terminated in arrangements which left the balance of power nearly in the same situation as before their commencement. The maritime powers and Austria were again united against the two branches of the House of Bourbon.\*

The reconciliation of Spain with France was followed by the disgrace of the abbot Montgon,

\* Dispatches of Mr. Keene from Madrid; Mr. Walpole from Paris, and the duke of Newcastle from London. Account of the negotiations from the opening of the congress of Soissons to the conclusion of the treaty of Seville by Mr. Robinson, MS.—Considerations on the introduction of spanish garrisons.—Graham Papers, MS.—Memoires de Montgon, passim.—Villars, t. 3 and 4, passim.—Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 38, 85.—Lord Walpole, ch. 16.—House of Austria, v. 2, c. 9.—Treaties of Seville and Vienna in Rousset, Dumont, and other collections of public documents.

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who had so essentially contributed to the renewal of the union. After his return from France, his plausible manners and devout exterior preserved the favour of Philip, and for some time the good will of the queen. But his mysterious connection with the court, and the general homage which he consequently received, both from natives and foreigners, filled his sanguine mind with the most aspiring designs, and dazzled him with the hope of becoming another Alberoni. While he deluded himself with these fantastic expectations, he was assailed by all the influence of Fleury, who could not, without alarm, see the elevation of an irreconcilable enemy and a zealous partisan of the duke of Bourbon. The vain, officious, and meddling character of the abbot, gave full scope to the machinations of his adroit antagonist, and drew on him the displeasure of the queen. He at length discovered her secret opposition to his advancement, and, persuading himself that his influence with Philip was too firmly established to be shaken, attempted to brave the effects of her dislike.

With this view he presented several memorials to the king, expatiating on his sufferings and services; and inveighing against the queen's confessor, the Patiños, cardinal Fleury and the french ambassador, whom he considered as the advisers of the queen, and his own personal

enemies. A favourable attention from Philip, who never forgot his services in promoting the reconciliation with France, and a gratification of 2,000 pistoles, filled him with the highest exultation. Proud of this distinction, he considered his victory as complete, and anticipated the ruin of his opponents. "The confessor," he says, "has already taken a house at Madrid; Rottembourg\* is preparing to quit Spain, under pretence of indisposition, and Patiño hourly expects the news of his dismissal."†

Finding, however, that his hopes were still deferred; and pressed by mortified vanity and pecuniary distress, he made a more direct attack, and prepared a new memorial in the stile of the preceding. After sedulously watching an opportunity to present it, he intruded himself into the inner apartment where the king was about to hear mass. As he advanced with his memorial, the queen entered, and confounded him with a look of indignation and contempt. "Retire, retire!" she exclaimed: "No one must enter here but the grandes and gentlemen of the household." Montgon retired; but after the ceremony, he again penetrated into the apartment, with the duke of Ossuna and the other attendants; and, having presented his

\* He had recently resumed his embassy in Spain.

† Montgon, t. 8, p. 437.

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memorial to the king, withdrew. The queen, who had observed his return, exclaimed, "this is too impudent!" and on the following morning he received an order to quit the court in a week, and the kingdom in twenty days."\*

This mandate was rigorously enforced. The abbot, after finding a temporary asylum in Portugal, returned to close his days in his native country and in his original obscurity; leaving in his Memoirs a monument of disappointed ambition, hypocritical piety, and overweening confidence, accompanied, however, with curious and valuable anecdotes of the two courts in which he had once acted so important a part.†

In closing our narrative of this period, it would be a species of ingratitude, to pass unnoticed the death of that spanish writer, from whom we have drawn such valuable materials for the preceding pages. Don Vincente de Bacallar y Saana, marquis of St. Philip, was a native of Sardinia, and descended from an antient spanish family settled in that island. He received an

\*. Mr. Keene's dispatch, March 21, 1732,

† The overweening vanity and loquaciousness of the good abbot rendered him the object of ridicule to the whole *corps diplomatique* long before his disgrace. Many anecdotes occur in the letters of our ministers at Paris and Madrid of the derision in which he was held; and the intelligence which they drew from him relative to the personal sentiments and conduct of the sovereigns who honoured him with their temporary confidence.

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excellent education, distinguished himself in various branches of learning, filled some important offices in his native island; and on its capture by the partisans of the archduke, persisted in his attachment to Philip. Repairing to Madrid, he was created marquis of St. Philip, much employed by his sovereign, and distinguished his diplomatic talents in the embassies of Genoa and the Hague. He died at the Hague, on the 11th of June 1729, leaving in manuscript a *History of the Hebrew Monarchy*, and *Commentaries on the War of the Succession under Philip the Generous*: a work which has entitled him to a place among modern historians. It was composed from original documents and actual observation, and written with such freedom, that it was not permitted to be printed during the life of Philip the fifth. This very circumstance enhances its merit. We have however to regret the complaisance of the editor, who changed and softened many parts where he considered the character of Louis the fourteenth as treated with too much severity. According to the spanish critics, the style of the original is harsh, and vitiated with the author's native idiom; but, though it is written with castilian prejudices, its authenticity and exactness are uncontested, and the tone of candour and freedom cannot fail to interest the reader. From the close of this nar-



CHAP. 40. rative in 1725, there is a sad chasm in the His-  
1728—1731. tory of Spain, which no succeeding author has  
yet supplied.\*

\* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 399.—Memoires de St. Philippe, t. 1, Discours Preliminaire. The title of the work was likewise changed to Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Espagne sous le Règne de Philippe 5.

CHAPTER THE FORTY-FIRST.


1732—1736.

*Continuance of Philip's malady—Successful expedition against Oran—Return of the spanish court to the capital—Machinations of Spain against the emperor—Negotiations with France—War of the polish succession—Campaigns in Italy and Germany—Conquest of Naples and Sicily—Don Carlos proclaimed king—Division in the bourbon alliance—Preliminaries of Vienna concluded between France and Austria—Indignation of the spanish court—Their reluctant accession to the preliminaries—Dispute with the pope—Temporary rupture with Portugal, and acquisition of the colony of Sacramento.*

**AFTER** Philip had established his residence at Seville, his mind again sunk into a state of apathy for want of interesting objects to rouse his attention. He soon relapsed into a still more deplorable state than before his departure from Madrid; and though without the ability to hold the reins of government, he was not sufficiently docile to commit them as before to the queen. Frequently he would neither transact business himself, nor suffer it to be transacted by others; and at one period the queen, notwithstanding her jealousy of the prince of Asturias, was obliged to employ his intervention to recal her husband to the ordinary habits of life.

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The regular avocations of business proving ineffectual, another expedient was employed to stimulate his apathy. Advantage was taken of a vow which he had made to recover Oran from the moors, and an appeal was made to his conscience to fulfil the sacred obligation. The bustle of war was now, as before, successful after other means had failed.

Having obtained from the pope the usual grants on ecclesiastical property for a war against the infidels, Philip issued orders that the troops collected to assert the rights of his son in Italy, should be employed to vindicate the honour of the christian name against the moors in Africa. Twenty-five thousand men, convoyed by forty-five ships of war, commanded by the duke of Montemar, landed near Oran, routed a tumultuary army of 40,000 moors, and laid siege to the place. The attacks were pushed with such vigour, that the fortress, though defended by a garrison of 10,000 men, surrendered, and the general, leaving 8,000 men to secure his conquest, returned to Spain.

1732.

On the departure of the army, the moors recovered from their panic, and attempted to dislodge the christians from both Ceuta and Oran.

At Ceuta, a body of spaniards made a vigorous sally, under the command of the duke of St. Blas; but falling into an ambuscade were cut to


pieces. The garrison, not disheartened by this reverse, repeated the attempt under the count of Cecil, and drove the moors from their lines. A similar reverse was followed by similar good fortune at Oran. A sally was made under the command of the marquis of Santa Cruz, the celebrated tactician; but the chief falling in the moment of victory, the troops were panic struck, and driven back to the walls. While, however, the enemy were tumultuously celebrating their success, they were again attacked by the spaniards, and driven from their entrenchments. They several times renewed the conflict, and were as often repulsed, till at length they were totally routed, their camp taken, and their works leveled. The marquis of Mirómenil, who directed this attack, received a mortal wound; but the vigorous defence of the garrison and the success of their sally threw the enemy into consternation: they abandoned their inauspicious enterprise, leaving the spaniards in tranquil possession of the two fortresses which they had so bravely won, and so gallantly defended.\*

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After the expedition to Africa, Philip found sufficient occupation in Europe during the remainder of his reign. At the instigation of his consort, he was involved in a war for the osten-

\* Ortiz, t. 7, p. 429.—Desormeaux, t. 5, p. 418, 422.—Pol. State for April 1733.

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sible purpose of assisting France in restoring Stanislaus to the throne of Poland, but with the real design of obtaining new establishments for her sons in Italy.

It was not to be expected, that the accession of Spain to the treaty of Vienna should at once terminate the long pending disputes with the emperor; for many causes of irritation still subsisted which it was impossible to remove by treaties. The ambition of the queen was rather inflamed than gratified, and the breach of the recent connection had excited the highest personal resentment on both sides. The emperor accumulated obstacles on obstacles to delay the establishment of a bourbon prince in Italy. Even when it had actually taken place, he produced new complaints against the form in which Don Carlos had received the homage of the tuscans, as an infraction of the feudal rights possessed by the head of the empire.\* The consequences of these contentions were mutual appeals to England as the principal mediating power; but no decision would satisfy both parties.

The sovereigns of Spain caught the alarm at the military preparations of the emperor to extort the consent of the german states to his pragmatic sanction; and at his design to give his eldest

\* Disputes and negotiations relative to the possession of Parma and Tuscany in 1732.—Rousset, t. 6.


daughter to the duke of Loraine, and unite, in the person of his destined son-in-law, the crown of the empire with the austrian territories. They were jealous also of his returning confidence in England, and of the alliances which he was now negotiating with the northern powers.

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With England likewise, innumerable causes of irritation still remained. The spanish government, who had incessantly struggled since the peace of Utrecht to evade the performance of their commercial engagements, were not better disposed to fulfil them than before. They employed every artifice to obstruct the british trade in America, deferred the nomination of commissioners to arrange the disputes; they not only encouraged the depredations of their officers on those who carried on an illicit traffic with the colonies under the protection of the *asiento*; but even on those who frequented the west indian seas for other traffic.

With a navy which, under the skilful management of Patiño, had risen from its losses, with the finances improving under his administration, and an army of 80,000 men, flushed with the recent victories in Africa, it scarcely admits a doubt that the queen was eager to renew the war, in order to obtain more honourable and advantageous terms than those of the recent treaty. But she had felt also, that the strength of Spain was not sufficient to resist alone the combined powers

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of Europe; and her continual efforts, though assisted by the co-operation of the partisans of Philip in France, had failed in the attempt to draw Fleury from his pacific system. The Memoirs of Villars, and the dispatches of our ministers, furnish innumerable proofs of the incessant endeavours of Spain to renew hostilities; and the no less incessant artifices of Fleury to maintain the connection of the two Bourbon courts, at the same time that he endeavoured to moderate the counsels of the restless and irritable sovereigns.

Sept. 3,  
1732.

Indefatigable in her efforts to extend the power of her family, the queen attempted to extort from France a promise to enter into a war against Austria, on the side of Germany, while Italy was overrun by the spanish forces. She pressed the cardinal also to thwart the establishment of the pragmatic sanction by subsidizing the elector Palatine and the elector of Bavaria, who had pretensions to the austrian succession. She even opened a negotiation with Charles Emanuel, who had succeeded his abdicated father on the throne of Sardinia; and endeavoured to gain a prince who, with the abilities, possessed all the cupidity and ambition of his predecessors.\*

While Philip and his queen were fluctuating

\* For an account of the abdication of Victor Amadeus, and the accession of Charles Emanuel, see *House of Austria*, v. 2, p. 111.

between an eagerness to declare war against the emperor, and an unwillingness to engage without the co-operation of France; while they were temporising with the maritime powers, and even listening to overtures from the emperor himself to renew the former connection, an event happened in the distant regions of the north, which occasioned an union of views and interests between France and Spain. This event was the death of Augustus the third, elector of Saxony, and king of Poland.

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Feb. 1, 1733.

During the attempts of the emperor to obtain the guaranty of his pragmatic sanction by the princes of Germany, the polish monarch, in virtue of family pretensions,\* stood forward as his principal opponent, entered into a compact with the elector of Bavaria, and was secretly encouraged by France. As his health was rapidly declining, it was easy to foresee that the approaching vacancy of the polish throne would give rise to commotions in Europe, from the natural solicitude of Louis the fifteenth to revive the pretensions of his father in law, Stanislaus, and the equally natural interest of the emperor and Russia to prevent the accession of a prince dependent on France. These clashing views and mutual jealousies occasioned active prepara-

\* For the various pretenders to the austrian succession, and their respective claims, see House of Austria, v. 2.



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tions for war among all the powers interested in the result.

The great object of Augustus was to secure the reversion of the polish crown to his son. Hence he entered into secret connections with such of the european powers, as were able to forward his design, and hastened in the depth of winter to Warsaw, to obtain the consent of his subjects. But, in consequence of his opposition to the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, he was opposed by the emperor, who, drawing his troops from Italy and the Netherlands, collected a considerable army in Silesia, and negotiated a treaty with Russia and Prussia, to give a king to Poland, in the person of Emanuel, prince of Portugal. Before, however, Augustus could convene a diet, he fell a sacrifice to his solicitude for the advancement of his family, and died of a gangrene in his foot, occasioned by an accident in his recent journey.

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His decease at once changed the plan of the emperor. The new elector of Saxony, hopeless of support from France, and conscious that he could not succeed to the vacant throne without the assistance of Austria and Russia, entered into the views of the emperor, and gained his patronage by guarantying the pragmatic sanction. Russia readily concurred in a measure which was calculated to exclude an adherent, of

†

France, and joined with Austria in supporting his pretensions.

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Numerous candidates started for the vacant throne, and, as usual in this elective government, two were chosen by opposite parties. Stanislaus, by a singular series of adventures, traversed Germany, appeared suddenly at Warsaw, and was elected by acclamation in a diet of his adherents held in the plain of Vola. But a few days afterwards, he was expelled by the austrian and russian armies; and a new diet, assembled under their auspices, chose Augustus king.

The intelligence of the king of Poland's decease excited a deep sensation at Seville; because it was justly considered as an event which would fix the wavering inclinations of France, and prove the signal of hostilities against the emperor. It was therefore no sooner communicated to Philip, than he started from his bed, in which he had long continued, under the influence of his hypochondriac malady, without attention to business, or regard to his personal comforts. He resumed the duties of government, gave general audience to persons of all ranks and descriptions, entered minutely into the transaction of affairs, and ordered immediate preparations for an approaching war.

The queen did not suffer this temporary ebullition of spirit to subside. As the residence of

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Seville exposed him to the machinations of the king of Portugal, who was naturally anxious to hasten the elevation of his son in law, the prince of Asturias; as the grandees were incessantly caballing for a change of government; and as the different courts of Europe unequivocally hinted the necessity of a new abdication, she now deemed the residence of Madrid preferable to that of Seville, and was anxious to give a public proof of his returning health. She adroitly hinted that, like his grandfather, he was become the terror of Europe, and that it was necessary to disappoint the expectations of his enemies, who were anxious for his return to a private station. By similar arguments, she induced him to break off the familiar intercourse with the prince of Asturias, with the grandees and foreign ministers, under the pretence of reviving the national etiquette; and she persuaded him to remove his residence to the neighbourhood of the capital, because the moist air of Seville was unfavourable to his constitution.\*

Philip started at once from sluggish indolence to extreme activity. Though he suffered a temporary indisposition from the exertions of his journey, he soon recovered, and repaired to his favourite residence at St. Ildefonso. "The moment," says Mr. Keene, "he arrived, he

\* Mr. Keene's dispatches.

called for the directors of the works, and gave them his orders. At the same time, he declared his intention to have a regular despacho the next morning, when he disposed of several military employments. He has continued to apply to business ever since, so that the government is now upon a regular footing, and as to his health, I never saw him look more cheerful and more free of speech.”\* Thus, after an absence of five years, Philip again cheered the capital with his presence.

Anxious for occupation, Philip, in announcing to the court of France the capture of Oran, had made proposals to form a closer connection, and turn their united force against the emperor. Fleury was too sincerely devoted to peace, to excite the alarms of England, by shewing hostile designs against Austria; but the overture gave rise to a negotiation, which continued during the whole of 1732, and great part of the succeeding year. The conclusion of a treaty was for a time obstructed by the refusal of Fleury to join in the designs of the queen against the austrian possessions in Italy; but the death of Augustus gave a new direction to the views of both powers. The queen, as an argument for immediate aggression, urged that the spanish navy was sufficiently powerful to transport an armament into

\* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Segovia, July 20, 1733.

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Italy, expatiated on the strength and discipline of the army, and in reply to the cautious suggestions of the cardinal, exclaimed, “The king and I are not children of fear, great enterprises do not embarrass us.”\*

Even the moderation and timidity of Fleury were tempted by the favourable juncture which now presented itself. The british ministry, on the eve of a general election, and embarrassed with the popular discontents occasioned by the attempt to establish the excise, were only anxious to prevent the subjugation of the Netherlands, and contented themselves with a vain offer of mediation.† Holland also, (unwilling to encounter the strength of France without support, adopted a neutrality.

Oct. 25.

Secure on the side where France had learnt to dread an attack, Fleury in his turn solicited the co-operation of Spain. At the moment when both courts continued to amuse England with vague professions of their pacific views, and denials of any specific engagement, a triple alliance was already arranged between France, Spain, and Sardinia.‡ This was the last political act of the marquis of Castellar, brother of Patiño, who had exchanged the department of

\* Villars, t. 4, p. 341.

† Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 43.

‡ Ortiz, t. 7, p. 436.

war for the embassy at Paris. The change of system was instantly announced by Montijo, spanish ambassador in London, who in an audience of the king declared that his catholic majesty was under an obligation of taking new measures, and joining his arms with France against the emperor.\* This communication was the prelude to a declaration of war, in which the three courts recapitulated all their grievances and complaints against Austria since the peace of Utrecht.

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At the same moment a french army, under Berwick, passed the Rhine, and a second, under Villars, the favourite general of the court of Madrid, traversing the Alps, united with the sardinians. Sixteen thousand spanish infantry, convoyed by twenty men of war, were transported from Barcelona and Alicante to the coast of Genoa, while five thousand horse, crossing the Pyrenees, embarked at Antibes for the same destination. The disembarkation being completed, these forces, under the command of Montemar, directed their march into Tuscany, and established their head quarters in the vicinity of Sienna. During these movements; Don Carlos, declaring himself of age, assumed the government of Parma, and fixed the majority of

Dec. 19.

\* Conduct of England in the Polish affairs. — Walpole Papers, MS.

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the future dukes at fourteen. He soon afterwards quitted Parma, and, as if secure of a higher distinction, stripped the ducal palace of the most valuable moveables and curiosities. Repairing to Sienna, he assumed the title of generalissimo of the spanish army in Italy.

Feb. 24, 1734.

The french and sardinians hoped that this army was destined to co-operate in reducing the Milanese; but Philip, unwilling to share his anticipated booty with his allies, meditated an acquisition of far higher importance, long the object of his desire.

Among a people so changeable as the Neapolitans, and so averse to a regular government, however constituted, it was as easy to conquer, as it was difficult to retain the throne.


From the difference of language, manners, and national character, the german government became highly obnoxious: the new modes of taxation, and the military regulations, if not oppressive, were at least odious from their novelty, and offensive to the irritable temper and peculiar habits of the people. Under these impressions, the remnant of the spanish party gained continual accessions of strength, and made earnest representations to the court of Madrid to deliver them from the german yoke. An object so tempting, and apparently so easy in the attainment, outweighed the general inte-

March 15.

rests of the alliance of which Spain formed a part; and the remonstrances of marshal Villars, who himself repaired to Sienna to procure the co-operation of the spaniards, produced no effect. Don Carlos left the french and sardinians to pursue their own plans in Lombardy, drew the spanish troops from the Modenese, and, traversing the states of the church by permission of the pope, was received by the papal ministers with real or feigned respect, though without the honours of a crowned head. While he directed his march towards the neapolitan frontier, a powerful squadron, under the count of Clavijo, having a detachment of 8,000 troops on board, skirted the coast, and opened the way for the attack of the capital by the occupation of Ischia and Procida. The infant himself, passing by Capua, crossed the Valdarna, and united all his forces at St. Angelo di Rocca Canina. He published a manifesto to the neapolitans, in the name of the king his father, declaring in the usual language his satisfaction with their past fidelity, announcing his intention to deliver them from the german oppression; and, what was more likely to captivate this capricious people, promising to enlarge their privileges, and deliver them from all kinds of taxation, particularly those imposts which owed their invention and establishment to the cupidity of the german



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government. This paper was accompanied by a declaration in the name of the infant himself, confirming the promises of his father in general, and asserting his resolution to permit the introduction of no new tribunal, either civil or ecclesiastical, a promise deemed necessary to relieve the dread which the Neapolitans entertained, lest the establishment of the inquisition should be the consequence of a spanish government.

These tempting offers, with the national love of novelty, produced a great sensation. Fortunately also for the success of this enterprise, the viceroy, Visconti, as if anticipating the fatal event of the contest, had retired to Rome, and the austrian generals, Caraffa and Traun, disagreed in their plan of operations. After a violent dispute, they resolved to remain on the defensive, diminished their disposable force to garrison the principal fortresses, and divided the remainder into two bodies, one to guard Apuglia, while the other took post opposite St. Angelo della Canina, to cover the northern frontier.

The spanish army forced the position of the imperialists at St. Angelo della Canina, drove them into Capua and Gaeta, and, leaving a detachment to blockade them, advanced towards Naples. At Aversa, the infant received a deputation from the capital; on the 10th of April 300 of his troops were admitted without opposi-

tion; and in a short time all the forts commanding the city and port of Baia, were occupied by the spaniards. In consequence of this success, the infant made his triumphal entry, and published a decree in the name of his father, declaring him king of the two Sicilies, and renewing the promises made in the former proclamation.

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May 10.


While the infant was conciliating his subjects, and establishing the government of his newly acquired dominions, Montemar followed the remnant of the german troops, who, to the amount of 9,000 men, retreated through Bari, and took up an advantageous position under the walls of Bitonto. But the strength of their post did not compensate for inferiority in number. The veterans of Spain, directed by the skill and enterprise of Montemar, forced the intrenchments with a dreadful carnage, and compelled those who escaped into Bitonto to surrender prisoners of war. Nearly 2,000 men were left in the field, 6,000 taken, with their tents, provisions, and stores, and of the whole body only 400 hussars escaped into the mountains of Calabria. This victory decided the fate of the kingdom. Before the close of the year, the conquest was completed by the reduction of Gaeta, which Traun defended for several months with extraordinary resolution.

May 25.

November.

Don Carlos received the crown at Naples,

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amidst the acclamations of the people, who rejoiced to exchange a viceroy for a sovereign. The first act of his reign was to reward the services of Montemar with the title of duke of Bitonto, an annual pension of 14,000 ducats, and the perpetual custody of Castello Nuovo. To these rewards, the king of Spain added the honours of a grandee of the first class.\*

As the imperialists were totally dissipated, even before Gaeta, Pescara, and Capua surrendered, measures were taken for the reduction of Sicily. Strengthened with considerable succours from Spain, Montemar landed at the head of a considerable force, in the neighbourhood of Palermo, was immediately welcomed as viceroy to the new sovereign, and before the middle of the ensuing summer reduced the whole island. Trapani, the last fortress held by the austrians, surrendered on the 21st of June.

The king himself passed over, and was crowned at Palermo, with great magnificence, on the 3rd of July. Nothing, indeed, was wanting to establish the sovereignty of Don Carlos, but the approbation of the pope, as liege lord of the two Sicilies; and, though he could not obtain the actual investiture, yet the spanish court so far intimidated the pope, as to induce him to maintain a neutrality, and refuse the cus-

\* Muratori Ann. 1734.—Beccatini Storia di Carlo Terzo, *ibid*.

tomary tribute of a hackney, and purse of money, when offered by the emperor.\*

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During this rapid conquest, the allied arms were crowned with no less splendid success in the north of Italy. Count Mercy, the most enterprising of the austrian generals, was defeated and killed in a desperate attempt to penetrate into the country south of the Po, at the bloody battle of Parma. Reinforcements were poured in to the imperial army to replace its losses; the veteran Staremborg, who had succeeded in the command, made repeated efforts to pass the Po; but he experienced the same ill success as his predecessor, and before the close of the campaign was circumscribed to the possession of Orbitello, Mirandola, and Mantua with its territory.

June 29.

On the return of the season for action, powerful reinforcements arrived from France and Spain. The reduction of the two Sicilies being completed, a body of spaniards, under the conqueror of Bitonto, landed on the coast of Tuscany, and occupying the fortresses, joined the allies to gather new laurels in Lombardy. With this accession of strength, Orbitello was reduced by the spaniards, the imperialists were driven into the Trentin; and Mantua, the key of

\* Political State for July, 1735.

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Lombardy, was closely blockaded by the united armies.\*

1733. Meanwhile the operations in Germany, though less brilliant, were scarcely less favourable. The duchy of Loraine was occupied without opposition, and an army of 100,000 french troops, after reducing Kehl, advanced beyond the Rhine. In 1734. the ensuing year the country watered by the Moselle was secured by the capture of Treves and Traerbach, and a way was opened into Germany by the reduction of the strong fortress of Philipsburgh, the siege of which was rendered memorable by the death of the veteran marshal Berwick, who fell before its walls. The imperial army, though commanded by Eugene, was too inferior in force, too deficient in discipline and appointments, and too much divided by the intrigues of the generals, to act on the offensive, and passed the whole campaign of 1735 in merely witnessing, without attempting to obstruct the triumphs of the enemy.†


In the midst of these events, Philip was engaged in a dispute with the pope; and notwithstanding his attachment to the church, and his title of catholic king, he resented the insults of the roman see, with a spirit and dignity becoming a successor of Charles the fifth. Some of his

\* Muratori. † History of the House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 11.

officers, endeavouring to enlist recruits at Rome, were massacred in a temporary commotion by the populace. A similar tumult arose at Velletri, in consequence of the exactions of the spaniards; and a body of their troops were obliged to quit the city, and fall back towards Rome. The satisfaction required not being given by Clement the twelfth, the spanish and neapolitan ministers withdrew from Rome, commanded the subjects of their respective sovereigns to quit the city; and the papal nuntio was dismissed from Naples. At the same time the spaniards returned with an accession of force to Velletri, erected gibbets in the market places, imprisoned many who were engaged in the recent commotion; and after committing various outrages levied a contribution of 8,000 crowns, as a compensation for exemption from military execution. Another detachment committed similar exactions in Ostia; and a third, under a trifling pretence, extorted 5,000 crowns from the inhabitants of Palestrina. The court of Madrid also displayed no less resentment against the pope. The nuntio was dismissed, his tribunal closed, and all payments and contributions to the roman see were suspended. These vigorous measures reduced the pope to submission. He not only gave the required satisfaction, but purchased a perfect reconciliation by conferring the cardinal's hat on the infant Don Philip,

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then only eight years of age, and appointing him administrator to the archbishopric of Toledo.\*

In this favourable situation of affairs, Elizabeth Farnese already anticipated the expulsion of the austriaus from Italy, and the establishment of a new sovereignty for her second son Don Philip. But her sanguine hopes were frustrated by those divisions among the members of an extensive combination which are the natural consequences of success. France having secured *Lorraine*, the possession of which she had coveted for more than two centuries, was unwilling to confer new power in Italy either on the king of *Sardinia* or on the *spaniards*. The cautious *Fleury* was also alarmed by the threats and preparations of *England* and *Holland*; both were fully sensible of their impolicy in permitting the degradation of the *House of Austria*. But the king of *Sardinia* in particular, who had greatly contributed to the success of the late campaigns, was alarmed at the progress made by his own allies; and determined not to suffer the establishment of another spanish prince in *Lombardy* on the ruins of the austriaian dominion. These jealousies and jarring interests led to mutual opposition and separate negotiations: France and *Sardinia*, in secret understanding with *England*, obstructed the

\* *Muratori Annali d'Italia*, anno 1736.—*Beccatini Storia di Carlo Terzo*.—*Ortiz*, t. 7, p. 448.

blockade of Mantua, and prevented its reduction particularly by refusing to supply the battering artillery for a siege.\*

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All the efforts of the different parties were now turned to negotiation; while the maritime powers, pressing their mediation on all, prepared to support their instances by an appeal to arms. But France with her usual address artfully profited by the displeasure which the emperor felt at the lukewarm support, or rather the desertion of the maritime powers, to open a secret negotiation. La Beaume, a confidential agent of the cardinal minister, repaired to Vienna; and with the same mystery and the same success as Ripperda, concluded the preliminaries of a general pacification without the participation of any other power.†

Oct. 3.


The substance of these preliminaries, after they were finally arranged and modified, was: Stanislaus to renounce the crown of Poland, retaining the title of king; and to possess during his life the duchy of Loraine, which, after his

\* The correspondence of lord Waldegrave, british minister at Paris, presents numerous proofs that France employed every expedient to obstruct the reduction of Mantua; and that having secured her own objects in the cession of Loraine and Bar, she was anxious to reduce Spain to favourable terms of peace.

† History of the House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 11, 12.—Conduct of England in the Polish affairs.



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decease, was to revert to France. In return, Tuscany was entailed on the duke of Lorraine, as a compensation for the loss of his paternal dominions. France guaranteed the pragmatic sanction; acknowledged Augustus king of Poland, and acquiesced in the intended marriage of the eldest archduchess with the duke of Lorraine. The emperor ratified the cession of Lorraine and Bar, renounced Naples and Sicily in favour of Don Carlos, and in return was to receive Parma and Tuscany, with the territories conquered during the war in the north of Italy.\*

These preliminaries were followed by a suspension of arms for the conclusion of a definitive peace.

This accommodation, effected without that participation with Spain which was due by the bonds of alliance, roused the indignation of Philip, and still more that of his consort. He felt the want of confidence manifested towards him by his nephew; but she was deeply mortified at the compulsory cession of her paternal inheritance, the utter failure of her long cherished hopes of an austrian alliance, and the loss of that establishment in Lombardy which she considered as already secured to her second son.

\* Preliminaries of Vienna in Rousset and other collections of public papers.

The manner in which they received the first intelligence sufficiently marks their wounded pride and indignation.

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“I never,” said Mr. Keene, “saw the king more gay nor so talkative as he has been since he first knew of this transaction. They have found means to make him over act his part. The queen’s behaviour requires a stronger term than affectation. Patiño keeps the best countenance he can. But it is not to be doubted that the king suffers extremely from the treatment he has met with from his nation; the queen from being disappointed in her ambition; and Patiño from finding himself a dupe, he who thought himself capable of duping the rest of mankind by his superiority of genius. I have yet heard nothing of what has fallen from the queen, but what she told a friend of mine yesterday, that as long as she breathed she would have nothing to do with France.

“The french ambassador goes to court as usual, but the cool reception he meets with does not encourage him to repeat his visits. Their catholic majesties in his presence redouble their civilities to the other *ministre de famille*, the duke of Sora.\*

“When the ambassador received his first orders to speak of this affair to the court, Patiño

\* The neapolitan ambassador.

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told him his excuses were so light and trivial, that he advised him not to open his lips upon it to the king, to avoid the disagreeable incidents which might happen in such conversation, where the queen might be less mistress of her temper than when she was by herself. This advice has been observed.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ In his conversations with me, Patiño said, ‘ the queen foretold to Rottembourg all which has happened when he pressed them to enter into the war.’ They have paid, he says, two millions and a half of piastres on account of subsidies to the french, who have likewise demanded half of what was to have been given to Sweden by the late treaty. They have constantly sent 600,000 piastres a month into Italy ; and they were yet in a condition to carry on the war two years longer ; and would have done it, had they not been abandoned.”\*

Both sovereigns made the most vehement complaints to the french court. “ Tell the cardinal,” said the indignant queen to Patiño, “ that nothing but his decrepitude is capable of committing such follies, and receive the french ambassador no more in your house.”†

Philip likewise expressed his chagrin in the

\* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Nov. 21, 1735.

† Mem. de Richelieu, t. 5, p. 386.

strongest terms which courtly decorum would permit, in the letter written to the king of France, acknowledging the reception of these unwelcome preliminaries. "The ambassador of your majesty has delivered to me your letter of the 29th of November. By the contents, I learn that your majesty is persuaded you have had powerful motives for concluding without my knowledge, and in the midst of signal victories, a particular treaty with the emperor. My love towards the person of your majesty, and my attachment to the honour of the french nation, do not permit me to investigate these motives. I can only believe, they must have been of the most weighty nature, to be preferred to those which arise at all times from our intimate connection by blood, my own desire of an union, and my blind submission to the wishes and instances which your majesty has repeatedly expressed in your letters. However, I flatter myself that the engagements contracted by your majesty will never lead so far as to the abandonment of my son, the king of the two Sicilies, to the ambition of the enemy, nor of my troops to their good fortune. This I expect from the invariable affection I bear your majesty."\*


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Jan. 7, 1736.

Thus mortified and disappointed, they em-

\* Pardo, Jan. 7, 1736.—Private communications in the Keene papers.

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ployed the intervention of England to make an overture to the emperor, and resolving to prosecute the war alone, declined ratifying the preliminaries. But this imprudent delay placed their troops in an alarming and critical situation. Montemar, who proved himself worthy of his past successes, and was eager to add new splendour to his reputation, had of his own accord refused to accept the armistice without the express orders of his court. But his troops were dispersed over a great extent of country, and intermixed with the french and sardinians, from whom it was in vain to expect support. Far from being in a condition to act offensively, they were in hourly danger of being cut off by the austrians, and not without apprehensions of an attack from their own allies. In this situation, Montemar had no other alternative than to extricate himself from the immediate danger to which he was exposed, and fall back behind the Po. From hence he retreated to Bologna, hoping that the respect due to the church would secure him in the papal territories. While, however, he was giving a public entertainment to the principal nobles of the place, he was surprised by an incursion of the german hussars; and deeming them the advanced guard of the imperial army, he suddenly directed his march to Tuscany, harrassed in his retreat by different

parties of these irregulars, who plundered his baggage, made the stragglers prisoners, and took possession of his hospital at Bologna with 1,500 sick. During this perilous march, the duke of Noailles with difficulty persuaded him to accept the armistice for two months, as the only expedient to save his troops, and prevent the loss of his recent conquests.\*

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In this extremity, Philip, deserted by his allies, threatened by the hostile preparations of the maritime powers, and alarmed by the appearance of a british squadron on his coasts, reluctantly acceded to the preliminaries of Vienna on the 18th of May 1736. His acceptance was preceded by that of Don Carlos, as king of the two Sicilies, on the 1st of May.†


Before, however, this accommodation was concluded, a new and distinct dispute arose between Spain and Portugal, the real motive, or at least the final result, of which, was a hostile design against the colony of Sacramento, on the Rio de la Plata, so long coveted by Spain.

John the fifth, king of Portugal, united by the bonds of marriage with the austrian family,

\* Noailles, t. 5, p. 258, 278.—Muratori.

† Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 44, 45.—House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 12, 13.—Tindal, v. 20, ann. 1735-6.—Hist. Register and Political State from 1733 to 1739.—Rousset.—Koch. Hist. des Traités.—Conduct of England, &c. MS.

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and with the maritime powers by interest, fostered an inveterate jealousy of the House of Bourbon, which was too deeply rooted to be eradicated by the double marriage lately concluded. A jealousy no less inveterate was fostered against Portugal, by the rival court of Madrid. In this temper, a diplomatic dispute of the most trifling kind threatened the renewal of hostilities, and led almost to an open rupture between two princes equally punctilious and irritable.

The servants of Don Cabral de Belmonte, the portuguese minister at Madrid, having rescued a malefactor from the officers of justice, were arrested and imprisoned by order of the court. The spanish minister at Lisbon also demanded satisfaction for this outrage to public justice; but had the mortification to see nineteen of his own domestics seized in his house and conveyed to prison. Mutual complaints were made, and as neither party shewed the slightest disposition to retract, the two ministers retired from their respective embassies, and both nations made preparations for hostilities.

The king of Portugal appealed to the maritime powers and the emperor, complained of the ill treatment which his daughter received from her mother in law, and represented that the

slightest hope of foreign support would induce the disaffected party in Spain to shake off the tyranny of the queen, and place the government in the hands of the prince of Asturias. This appeal drew liberal promises of assistance from the emperor, who hoped to renew hostilities, on the same principle as in the war of the succession. But the maritime powers were too zealously inclined for peace, to give ear to these extravagant plans, and the british government only sent a squadron of twenty-five sail, under sir John Norris, to secure the return of the merchant fleet from the Brazils, and repress any enterprise on the part of Spain. At the same time, they disclaimed all hostile views, and offered their mediation to terminate the dispute.

This measure, though qualified with every mark of consideration, produced the customary remonstrances and extravagances from the court of Madrid. Philip rejected any other mediation except that of France; but while a negotiation was pending in Europe, he made an attack in America, against the obnoxious colony of Sacramento, and succeeded in driving the portuguese from their incroachments on the spanish territory. Having attained this object, and dreading the injury which the american trade would sustain from the hostility of England, in resentment for



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July, 1736.

this aggression, he shewed more disposition towards an accommodation, and was induced to refer the dispute to the maritime powers and France. The mediating powers not being averse to the partial exclusion of the portuguese from the Rio de la Plata, the consent of Portugal was extorted. After a quibbling negotiation, a convention dictated by the mediators was accepted by both courts, and a treaty signed at Paris terminated this dispute, which, however apparently frivolous, might have again involved Europe in a general war.\*

During the negotiation, the queen did not manifest her resentment with more decorum than on preceding occasions. To the french ambassador, she observed, "if we do not handle that fellow the king of Portugal pretty roughly, nothing can be got out of him." The king then asking if it was not an easy matter to treat Portugal in the manner the queen had mentioned, the ambassador replied, "it is but too easy, but these affairs are in the hands of the mediators, and what has happened is to be laid to their account." "That is true," interrupted the queen, "yet in the mean time nothing is decided." Changing her voice, she continued,

\* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 5—Mr. Keene's Correspondence from Madrid, and lord Tyrawayley's from Lisbon,

“ You all spoil that court by your complaisance ; and I assure you if it was not for the little one, (alluding to her daughter), the king of Portugal should already have had a box on the ear.”\* CHAP. 41.  
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\* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Segovia, September 24, 1736.

## CHAPTER THE FORTY-SECOND.

1736—1739.

*Reluctance of Spain to accede to the definitive treaty, and attempts to renew the war—Death, character, and administration of Patiño  
—Account of his successor, La Quadra, and the new administration  
—Signature of the definitive treaty.*

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UNWILLING to relinquish Parma and Placentia, and to resign Tuscany in favour of the House of Loraine, the spanish cabinet started innumerable objections in the course of the negotiation, and repeatedly appealed to France and the maritime powers, as guarantees of those successions. But as France would not interfere, and as the maritime powers insisted on the evacuation of Tuscany, Philip and his queen next brought forward claims to the rich allodials of the deceased duke. They temporised till the imperial troops were withdrawn from Italy, in consequence of the war between Russia and Turkey, and then, suddenly resuming their preparations, appeared determined to renew hostilities, under the pretext of these allodials, though with the hope of a favourable opportunity to appropriate the whole inheritance.


But at this moment, their plans were disconcerted by the death of Don Joseph Patiño, who has been termed the Colbert of Spain, and was perhaps the most able minister, who, since the accession of Philip, had directed the helm of state.

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Patiño was of noble birth, and, if we may credit the information of Montgon,\* commenced his youthful career in the order of the jesuits. He became the sole confidant and principal coadjutor of Alberoni, contributed to the fall of Ripperda, and afterwards shared with La Paz the royal favour. His superior talents however soon gained the ascendancy, and the death of his colleague in 1733, left him without a competitor in power. He possessed all the qualities which were requisite to manage a suspicious and hypochondriac monarch like Philip, and an artful impetuous and interested woman like the queen. He was equally master of every branch of policy, clear and prompt in the transaction of business, and combined uncommon address, subtilty and suavity of manners, with the firm and persevering spirit of a spaniard. Like his able predecessor, he threw off the trammels of office imposed by the councils, suppressed the endless discussions by memorials and reports, which had rendered the tardiness of the spanish government prover-

\* T. 1, p. 507.

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bial, and united in his own person the principal management of every department in the administration.

In the midst of perpetual avocations and interminable disputes, the ministry of Patiño was marked by continual, though silent efforts to increase the strength and promote the welfare of Spain. Duly appreciating the high importance of the american colonies, he directed his earliest attention to the exclusion of foreigners from the lucrative traffic of those regions. He completed a plan which appears to have been almost the last act of Alberoni, for concentrating the whole american trade, exclusively at Cadiz, and rendering the intercourse with the colonies direct, systematic, and safe.


In promotion of this design, he laboured to raise the spanish marine, and silently to station an efficient force in the seas of America. As early as 1728, his exertions awakened the jealous vigilance of England. "Ever since," says Mr. Keene, "I returned to this country, I observed, with the greatest concern, the progress Patiño was making towards a powerful marine, and I have repeated it in most of the dispatches I have had the honour to write. That idea is so strong in him, that neither the subsidies paid to the emperor, nor the misery of the spanish troops, nor the poverty of the household and tribunals

can divert him from it. He has the finances at his command, and the money which is not sent into Italy for the queen's use, is all applied to the building of ships. He supports himself with the king by giving him hopes of being great at sea, and independent of all other nations; and with the queen, by taking care of her private interest.

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“ In carrying on this scheme, I have likewise observed, that he has endeavoured to do it with as little noise as possible, not to awaken the jealousy of the maritime powers. For this reason, his ships are built and kept in different ports, that they may depart two or three at a time, and escape enquiry and observation. The three ships which were last dispatched to the Indies, were an instance of this way of proceeding. It was given out that they were to cruize in the Mediterranean, and provisions accordingly collected for such an expedition. But as soon as they arrived in a certain latitude, and opened their instructions, they were ordered to the Indies, and were to touch at the Canaries, and take in a fresh supply of necessaries. So that I have not yet found that this design was to send a number of vessels at once to the Indies, but by degrees; and I only mention with certainty those that were at Cadiz, because I was assured by one of the contractors for victualling them, that provisions were ordered for no more than

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the eight ships at that port. By the list of the ships inclosed in my letter of the 26th past, it will appear that nine were to be built in the Indies. But as they will want several materials which must be procured from Europe, I imagine such materials and stores are to be sent by the first ships to those parts. Some have been already transported, as I gather from Patiño's frequent assurances, that the south sea company's factors will not fail to find all sorts of materials at Vera Cruz."*

Without adverting to inferior regulations, which it would be tedious were it practicable to detail, it will sufficiently shew the spirit of Patiño's ministry, to call the attention of the reader to those plans and establishments which he formed in imitation of the great trading companies in other countries. During the reign of the german influence, when it was proposed to transfer the Ostend company to Triest, he projected a plan to unite the trade of the austrian and spanish monarchies, by means of this company, and render Cadiz the center of commerce with the North, the Netherlands, Germany, the Levant, and the East Indies, as well as the West.† When this design was frustrated by the abolition

* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, Madrid, Aug. 23, NS. 1728.

† Account of Ripperda by the sicilian abbots.

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of the company, he formed another establishment, to draw to Spain the cocoa trade, and diminish the contraband, carried on by the subjects of England, Holland, and France, with the countries and islands of the bay of Mexico. This was the company of Guiposcoa, the object of which was partly commercial, partly to increase the marine. It was, yearly to furnish two ships of 40 or 50 guns each, which were to be laden at Port Passage, and San Sebastian, with native productions and commodities, and to dispose of their cargoes, in exchange for cocoa, and other productions of the Caraccas, Venezuela, Cumana, Margarita, and Trinidad. Both in their departure and return they were peculiarly favoured with regard to duties and privileges, and in the intervals of their voyages, were to cruize as guarda costas, keeping a constant watch on the shore between the river Oronoco and the Rio de la Hacha, and capturing all vessels engaged in illegal traffic.*


1728.

The success which attended this first essay, soon afterwards encouraged the minister to

* Octroy de la compagnie de Guiposcoa, Rousset, t. 5, p. 239. Keene's dispatches.

This company long continued to the advantage of the colonies, as well as of the mother country; but incurring heavy losses in the american war, and abuses creeping into its administration, it was suppressed. The trade was afterwards carried on by individuals.

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realise the plan of a company trading through the Philippines with the East Indies, an idea originally suggested by Ripperda. This company was no less favoured in its privileges than that of Guiposcoa. In opposition to that jealousy which the spanish monarchs had always manifested of their sovereign rights, it was empowered to form military establishments, and acquire territories in such parts of the east as were calculated to improve its commerce, and consolidate its strength. It naturally awakened umbrage in the trading nations, and appears to have silently sunk under the weight of their superior capital, power, and influence.*

Philip respected and listened to Patiño, though without bestowing on him his affection or confidence. The address of the queen, and the abilities of the minister, were often called forth to parry the effects of his morbid irritability and constitutional distrust. One instance in particular is recorded in the correspondence of Mr. Keene. Some of those secret counsellors to whom Philip constantly recurred for advice, suggested accusations against the minister, which made a deep impression on the mind of the melancholy and suspicious monarch. The queen perceiving the effect of these insinuations,


* Historical Register for 1733.—Rousset, t. 8, p. 369.—Ulloa, t. 2.

instead of irritating her husband by direct opposition, affected to acquiesce in the charge, and hinted the propriety of calling on the minister for a defence of his conduct. This pretext enabled Patiño to present an able and eloquent memorial, in which he did not fail to expatiate on the deplorable state of affairs when he entered on his office, and to draw a flattering picture of the benefits derived from his administration. With affected modesty he appealed to the king to shew the faults of his system, and solicited his majesty in his superior wisdom to point out alterations and improvements. Such a detail was suited to the taste and principles of Philip, who was equally gratified by the prospect of the national improvement, and by an appeal to his judgment. The queen, never neglecting to seize the favourable turn of her husband's disposition, affected to be influenced by his conviction, and concluded with lamenting the unjust prejudices which she had permitted herself to foster against Patiño.*

Notwithstanding the triumphant result of this trial, Patiño had other difficulties to contend with, besides the suspicions and prejudices of his sovereign. It required all his abilities to find resources for maintaining those hostilities which the queen meditated in Italy and Portugal; for,

* Mr. Keene's dispatches to the duke of Newcastle, April 30, 1736.

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though he proudly boasted that he had means in reserve to protract the contest for two years, the pay of the troops was considerably in arrears; and no less than four years' salary was due to the royal household. Even the mechanical operations of his various offices were become a burthen far superior to his strength. Mr. Keene gives a picture of his embarrassments in the early period of his ministry, before they were increased by the difficulties arising from the italian war. "It is scarcely possible for me to lay before the ministry the extreme disorder into which the king's way of life throws business, and those who are to transact it. * * * * For several months, nothing has been thought of but equipping the spanish fleet, and sending away the infant to Italy. Patiño, who is charged with the whole, loses four hours every day in mere attendance at the palace, and I lose as many in looking after him. His nights from two till six pass in conversation with their catholic majesties, and when he has time, it is employed how he can bring them to agree in sentiments with each other, and how he can preserve his authority with both. He has scarcely time to eat or sleep. But I would not be understood by this to make his apology; for no one can be more certain than I am, that he is an enemy to all foreign commerce,


and as he has more knowledge of trade and of the abuses in the customs than any minister had before him, he will make us more uneasy than any has yet done. We had formerly to complain of delays and *la lenteur Espagnole*; now there is a share of malice in his resolution to reform and new model what he thinks prejudicial to Spain.”*

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Patiño doubtless fell a sacrifice to his violent and continued exertions both of body and mind. He was seized with a mortal disorder, and, after lingering a month, died on the 6th of November, 1736, in his 70th year. Devoted to his sovereigns to the latest moment of his life, he transmitted his secret papers to the king, and sent his dying advice on the critical state of affairs with the same judgment and perspicuity which he had displayed while in perfect health. Philip received the news of his decease with his characteristic phlegm; but the queen felt the deepest concern for the loss of one, who, as Mr. Keene observes, was a minister after her own heart. From respect, however, for the king, she suppressed her concern in public, under an affectation of indifference, and flattered him by representing the deceased statesman as his scholar. “The king and I,” she said to Mr. Keene,

* Mr. Keene to Mr. Walpole, Nov. 25, 1731.

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“ formed him to foreign affairs ; we can transact our business ourselves, and form other ministers.”

Notwithstanding this affectation of dignified pride, no testimony of regret and regard was omitted either during his illness or after his death. Philip soothed his dying hours by creating him a grandee with reversion to his heirs, and granting a considerable pension to his niece, the countess of Fuencalá. The charges of his funeral were defrayed by the treasury ; the ceremony was attended by the royal officers and the corregidor of Madrid ; and he was interred with scarcely fewer honours than a prince of the blood.*

After the preceding detail, little remains to be added to our account of this able minister. Exposed to the shock of clashing interests, surrounded by multiplied embarrassments, obliged at the same time to consult the prejudices of the king, and bend to the passions of the queen, his character and conduct have been unfavourably represented by foreigners. He was said by Fleury, “ to speak as well as write in cypher ;” he has been accused of prevarication, duplicity, want of faith, of personal and national prejudice. Possibly these charges are not totally unfounded.

* Mr. Keene to Mr. Walpole, Nov. 6, 1736, and dispatches about the same period to the duke of Newcastle.


But, in judging him as a minister, some allowance should be made for the difficulties of his situation; and the concurring testimony of friends and enemies, proclaims his superior merit and talents. It was the confession even of a political rival, that his loss was irreparable to Spain.*

By the death of Patiño, the administration again reverted into the hands of the king, and the consequent changes called forth a new set of actors on the political theatre.

The chief of the new ministry was Don Sebastian de la Quadra, originally page to Grimaldo, with the marquis de la Paz, and like him gradually advanced in office. At his death, he was the first clerk in the department of foreign affairs; and, after a service of thirty years, was appointed secretary of state. He was a man of limited capacity, conscious of his want of talents, and so far inferior to his predecessor, that it was maliciously said, Patiño had recommended him to render his own loss more sensible and more regretted. Unlike Patiño, who ruled his sovereigns even while affecting to bend to their wishes, and flattering their ambition, La Quadra possessed all the timidity and irresolution of a weak and contracted mind, and aspired no higher

* Mr. Walpole's Narrative of the Conduct of England in the Polish transactions, MS.

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than to become the mere agent of the king and queen.

Mr. Keene wrote at the moment of his nomination, "La Quadra will place his utmost merit entirely on his resignation to their orders, without prompting them to any party, or making himself responsible for the least imaginable accident. His fear of speaking more than he should will keep him from talking as much as he ought, and he would as soon discover to a foreign minister the most important secrets of his court, as tell the place from whence he received his last courier. As for the rest, he passes for a very honest man, has no sort of bias for one country more than another, nor any private views to engage him to give any other turn to the instances that pass through his hands, than the natural one in which they are made to him. He will be slow in his operations, and will demand informations and reports upon any trivial matter of commerce, in the same manner as the marquis de la Paz, and as was constantly practised here till Patiño broke through those tedious formalities."*

Another of the ministers recommended by Patiño, was the marquis of Terranueva, who had been brought up under him in the management of the finances, and succeeded as secretary for that department. The marine and Indies were

* Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle.

confided to Don Francisco Varas, who had long filled the place of one of his agents at Cadiz.

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The only person of note in this new ministry was the duke of Montemar, who, after his return from Italy, was intrusted with the war department, a post for which he was well qualified by his experience and military skill.

Thus, almost for the first time since the accession of Philip, the direction of affairs was wholly confided to the hands of spaniards. But the loss of the late active and able minister, and the inability of his successors to supply his place, joined with the increasing deficiency in the finances, and the lukewarmness of France, induced Philip to relinquish his plans of aggression, and listen to the instances made him for the conclusion of a general peace.*

England and France, both equally interested in the restoration of tranquillity, continued to press the arrangement of a definitive treaty on the basis of the Vienna preliminaries. At length, after all those contests, quibbles, and evasions, and those discordant interests which never failed to arise whenever the courts of Madrid, Vienna, and Turin, were jointly concerned, the definitive treaty was signed between France and Austria.

* Mr. Keene's dispatch, Nov. 6, 1736.—Mr. Walpole's deduction of the negotiations from 1733 to 1736. Walpole Papers, MS.

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on the 8th of November, 1739. The king of Sardinia acceded on the 3rd of the ensuing February, and the kings of Spain and Naples, on the 21st of April. The king of Spain withdrew his troops from Parma, Placentia, and the places which they still held in Lombardy. Don Carlos was formally acknowledged king of the two Sicilies, and received the investiture from the pope. As the great duke of Tuscany had died in July 1737, the whole arrangement was carried into complete execution by the absolute cession of Lorraine to France, and the occupation of Tuscany, by Francis, duke of Lorraine, who had recently espoused Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of the emperor.*

* Desormeaux, t. 5.—Ortiz, lib. 24, c. 4.—Rousset.—Treaties of peace from 1736 to 1739.—Tindal, 1736—1739;—And the dispatches of Mr. Keene for the same period, besides those already quoted.

CHAPTER THE FORTY-THIRD.

1739—1740.


Rise and progress of the disputes between England and Spain relative to the british commerce and settlements in the West Indies—South sea company—Fruitless negotiations to effect an arrangement—Declaration of war—Capture of Porto Bello.

THE whole reign of Philip the fifth forms a series of inconsiderate projects, imperfect accommodations, and successive hostilities ; for before the signature of the definitive treaty had restored peace in Italy and Germany, a new contest had arisen between Spain and England, which ultimately involved Europe in a continental war.

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This contest was derived from the perpetual and increasing jealousies of Spain in regard to the american trade, and the commercial enterprises of the english to extend their traffic by every means, whether legal or contraband, without attention to the spirit, feelings, views, and rights, of the spanish government. The remote, though real origin of the dispute, was the change of political sentiment occasioned by the transfer of the monarchy from the austrian to the bourbon dynasty ; and the laudable, though perhaps impolitic eagerness of the new government to

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extend and encourage the national commerce, marine, and manufactures, to the exclusion of foreigners.

In virtue of the first discovery, and the celebrated bull of Alexander the sixth to Ferdinand the Catholic, Spain arrogated to herself an exclusive right to the whole continent of America. This assumption was not however submitted to by other nations; and Portugal in particular succeeded in establishing the colony of the Brazils in the very center of the spanish settlements. But when Philip the second, by the conquest of Portugal, obtained the Brazils, he maintained the pretension of exclusive right with greater efficacy; and by his formidable marine prevented all the attempts of other nations to carry on a regular traffic with the southern regions of the american continent. On the declension of his naval power, by the defeat of the armada, and the increasing decline of the spanish monarchy, under his feeble successors, the english, french, and dutch gradually established themselves on the continent and in the islands of the new world. In particular, the conquest of Jamaica by Cromwell broke that chain of islands with which nature seems to have inclosed the bay of Mexico. The capture of Jamaica was followed by settlements in the bay of Campeachy, for the sake of cutting the logwood which abounds in the peninsula of

Yucatan. These establishments, nourished by a lucrative, though contraband traffic with the neighbouring spaniards, and increased by the buccaneers, when that species of piracy was suppressed, gradually spread along the bay of Honduras and the Mosquito shore. The spanish government, however, never receded from the original pretensions to exclusive possession; and the jarring interests of trade kept up almost incessant though unauthorised hostilities in the West Indies.


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On the death of Philip the fourth, the aggressions of France in Europe united Spain more closely with England. Commercial jealousy yielded to political interest. The ministers of the minor king Charles the second, in a regular treaty virtually acknowledged the british claims to form establishments in America, by an article which permitted a general freedom of navigation and traffic in all places, where trade had been before carried on. Still, however, a right was reserved to search merchant ships sailing near the ports and in the seas belonging to the respective countries, and to confiscate contraband goods.

1667.

Disputes soon arose on the construction of this article, which being purposely conceived in equivocal terms to save the pretensions of both parties, was wrested by each in its own favour.

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The spaniards claimed the right of search in all the american seas; the english contended that the phrase ' contraband goods,' according to the general interpretation, implied only arms and military stores sent to the states of Barbary, with which Spain maintained incessant war. These disputes gave rise to a new treaty in 1670, which confirmed the right of the english to their West India possessions, and regulated the intercourse between the two nations in the american seas. The ninth article, in particular, prohibited the subjects of both powers from trading with the colonies of each other in the West Indies, without licences from the respective governments. The keen and inventive spirit of commercial enterprise suggested means to evade the letter of this condition. Under the usual permission granted to a certain number of british ships to take refuge and refit in spanish harbours, they were accustomed to enter in small squadrons, and carry on a contraband trade without the stipulated licence. The constant wars with France, and the consequent necessity of conciliating England, induced the spanish government to connive at this traffic, and to exercise the right of search with such indulgence as reduced it to a mere form.

Such was the advantageous intercourse between Spain and England, till the extinction of the


austrian line. It was evident that the accession of a bourbon prince would be followed by a revolution in commercial policy; and indeed from the moment Philip ascended the throne, his views were incessantly turned to the improvement of the american trade, and consequently to the exclusion of foreigners.

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In 1710, the south sea company was established in England for the purpose of trading to the spanish colonies, which, during the war of the succession, were deprived of a regular intercourse with the mother country. The peace of Utrecht, however, produced a total change in the relations of England with America. The favourable articles in former treaties were set aside, and a new system of commerce was established. The supply of negroes, which had been first enjoyed by the dutch, and afterwards by the french, was transferred to the south sea company, by a contract, called 'the asiento.' They were to introduce yearly 4,800 negroes into the spanish colonies for thirty years, beginning May 1, 1713; and to enjoy the privilege of sending an annual ship of a certain burthen to the fair of Vera Cruz. In return for these concessions, the king of Spain was allowed a fourth share in the profits of the negro trade and the annual ship, and a certain tax on the remainder.

Neither the company nor the nation were,

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however, suffered to enjoy these advantages, which had been the principal pretext employed to justify in England the dishonourable peace of Utrecht. Philip, being acknowledged king, omitted no artifice to evade or delay the execution. From that moment to the present, in spite of repeated negotiations and arrangements, the intercourse of Great Britain with spanish America was accompanied with vexations more or less rigorous, according to the hopes or fears of the court.

To the contentions derived from this source, others were successively added, relative to the gradual progress of the british settlers on the coasts of the bay of Mexico, the contraband trade carried through these establishments, and under the privileges of the south sea company ; finally the jarring pretensions of the two crowns respecting the limits of Carolina and Florida.

Spain, however, had too frequently felt the naval superiority of England to court an open war. But the principle adopted by Philip and his successive ministers, was to maintain indirect hostility against the british trade, under the pretext of search, and the rights of sovereignty. They were sensible that their officers and guarda costas frequently made illegal seizures, and committed unjustifiable outrages against the crews of british ships. Some of these captures had even

been restored, and the offenders punished ; though with the tardiness which was inherent in the spanish counsels, and with the reluctance naturally derived from a knowledge of the constant and flagrant violation of the commercial regulations established between the two nations.

The british minister, sir Robert Walpole, was equally anxious to preserve peace. He was fully aware that the english traders abused the indulgence which they enjoyed, both by custom and treaties ; but he knew that this indulgence, as well as the regular commerce, would suffer by a war ; and he was unwilling to wound the national feelings of the spaniards, and to rouse the irritable temper of their monarch. The envoy, Mr. Keene, was guided by his directions, and zealously laboured to prevent a rupture.

But the pacific views of sir Robert Walpole were counteracted by the violence of the nation, roused by all the influence of a powerful opposition ; and he was still more effectually thwarted by his colleagues in office. While therefore the instructions of the minister breathed peace and cordiality, the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the southern department, drew up strong representations against the spanish outrages ; and added unconciliating demands of immediate and effectual satisfaction. Finally, he ordered a memorial in which these representations and

CHAP. 43. demands were recapitulated, in reproachful language, to be delivered to the court of Spain.
1739—1740.

The prudence of Mr. Keene, and the pacific measures of sir Robert Walpole, weakened the impression, which such language was calculated to make at Madrid. A double negotiation was commenced at both courts, between Don Thomas Geraldino the spanish envoy and the british cabinet on one side, and Mr. Keene and La Quadra on the other. After some delays and difficulties, an arrangement was concluded at London, by which the balance for the compensation of damages was settled at £.140,000 in favour of England. This agreement was transmitted to Madrid; but the court refused to ratify it, declaring, that Geraldino had surpassed his powers; a refusal probably occasioned by the increasing clamours in England, and by the peremptory demand to relinquish the right of search; which was passed by a vote of the House of Lords, and negatived in the Commons only by a small majority.


The pacific minister exerted the influence which had enabled him to defeat this irritating demand in the lower house. In opposition to the opinion of his colleagues, and the clamours of the nation, he renewed the overtures for an accommodation, carefully avoiding, as hitherto, any allusion to the right of search. Under his

auspices, Mr. Keene overcame the dilatoriness, and soothed the wounded pride of the spanish court and nation. After a long discussion, a new convention was arranged, on terms honourable and advantageous to both parties, and signed at the Pardo, January the fourteenth, 1739.

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The principal articles of this agreement were; “ within six weeks, two plenipotentiaries shall meet at Madrid to regulate the respective pretensions of both crowns, in regard to the trade and navigation in America and Europe ; and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as well as the other points which remain to be adjusted, according to former treaties. They shall finish their conferences in two months, and in the mean time no further progress shall be made in the fortifications of Florida and Carolina. His catholic majesty shall, within four months from the day of exchanging the ratifications, pay to the king of Great Britain the sum of ninety five thousand pounds, as a balance due to Great Britain after deduction made of the demands of Spain. This sum shall be employed to satisfy the claims of british subjects on the crown of Spain. But this reciprocal discharge shall not comprise or relate to the accounts and differences between the spanish court and the asiento company, nor to any private contracts between either of the two

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crowns, or their ministers with the subjects of the other, or between the subjects of each nation respectively."

Still, however, the increasing violence of the british nation, and the unqualified demands advanced by the opposition in parliament, induced the spanish court to insist on their own claims with equal rigour. After the arrangement of the convention, La Quadra brought forward a new question by requiring £.68,000 as a balance due to the king of Spain for his share of the profits made by the south sea company, and declaring that his sovereign would suspend the asiento and withhold his ratification of the convention, without an assurance that this sum should be liquidated within a specified time. Mr. Keene was forced to conclude the negotiation under this condition, and transmitted the convention, accompanied with this demand, for the approbation of his court.

These terms were as inadequate to the high and sanguine expectations of the english nation, as the unqualified pretensions advanced in England were grating to Spain. The people were roused to a frenzy of indignation. In vain the minister and his friends exerted all their eloquence in support of the convention; in vain they contended that the right of search claimed by Spain was founded on treaties; in vain they urged that


the discussion of so delicate a subject was properly referred to the decision of plenipotentiaries. The most unjustifiable artifices were employed to frustrate their endeavours, and influence the popular resentment. The outrages of the spanish officers, heightened by exaggeration and falsehood, were the theme of public declamation; the british parliament did not disdain to listen to the tale of one Jenkins, a captain employed in this forbidden traffic, who appeared before the bar of the House of Commons, to detail the injuries, real or pretended, which he had received from the captain of a spanish guarda costa, and particularly the loss of his ears.*

Such tales, in the enthusiasm of the moment, made a deep impression. As if by common impulse the whole nation clamoured for war as the only means of humbling spanish pride and cruelty, and avenging british honour. A small majority in both houses of parliament approved the convention; at the same time a liberal vote of credit was passed to forward hostile preparations, and, to influence the negotiations at Madrid, a british fleet under the command of admiral Haddock was sent to Gibraltar.

The minister was obliged to yield to the

* See a more particular account of this political artifice in Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 51. It is remarkable that the adventure of the ears had lain dormant ever since 1731.

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public voice; but in transmitting an account of these measures, he laboured to soothe the irritation of the spanish court, by representing them as mere provisional powers, to be employed only in case of actual emergency. These endeavours were, however, ineffectual; for the ferment was equally great in both countries. Disdaining to relinquish from compulsion what was considered as a just and indisputable right; or to be terrified into a fulfilment of the convention, the spanish cabinet retorted the violence of the english nation and parliament with equal violence.

The meeting of the plenipotentiaries became therefore a mere formality. La Quadra, recently created marquis of Villarias, besides eluding the performance of the convention, declared, that Spain considered the continuance of Haddock's fleet at Gibraltar as degrading to the national honour; and that while such a scourge hung over them, they would grant no indulgence, but treat the english according to the rules of the most rigid justice. Philip, in a public audience of Mr. Keene, authorised the declaration of the minister by complaining of the continuance of the british squadron on his coasts as an insult; and announcing his resolution to revoke the asiento, and seize the effects of the south sea company, as a compensation for the demand of

£68,000. Finally, Villarias declared that no dependence could be placed on the promises of the british court, and no negotiation would be renewed without a preliminary admission of the right of search.

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It was now too late to temporise, and the british minister with regret came to a decisive resolution. Mr. Keene in the name of the king was ordered to demand the immediate execution of the convention, the acknowledgment of the british claims to Georgia and Carolina, and an unequivocal renunciation of the right of search. These mutual demands were the prelude to a declaration of war, and both parties made the most active preparations for the impending contest.

December.

The spanish declaration of war was accompanied by a manifesto, or parallel of the conduct of the king of Spain and that of Great Britain, in regard to the transactions which preceded and followed the convention of the Pardo. In this paper, the king condescends to allude to the exaggerated charges against the depredations and barbarity of the officers commanding the guarda costas, and reverts to the year 1716, to produce counter accusations against the captains of english traders. Besides mentioning the massacre or execution of no less than seventy

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spaniards, an instance of cruelty is adduced which seems to have been intended as a counter-part to the fable of Jenkins's ears.

“An english captain, one of those who infest our coasts, no less by illicit trade than by their own wickedness, inticed on board his ship, under the pretence of traffic, two spaniards of no common distinction, and, for the purpose of extorting a ransom, kept them without food. But finding that he could not attain his object by this detestable piece of inhumanity, he cut off the ears and nose of one, and, holding a dagger to his breast, *forced him to eat them.*” After describing these instances of barbarity, which naturally found as ready a belief in Spain as the tales of spanish cruelty in England, the manifesto proceeded to justify the right of search, on the authority of treaties and uninterrupted usage. Then followed a protest against the insult offered to Spain by the presence of a british squadron on her coasts, as if to extort submission to the unjust demands of England; and a justification of the king's refusal to disburse the £.68,000, on the plea that the convention was already annulled by England, and that such a payment, without the prospect of reconciliation, would only strengthen the hands of an avowed enemy. The order for reprisals and the declaration of war were repre-

sented as measures of retaliation rendered necessary by the prior example of the british government.*

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The spanish manifesto drew no other answer from England than a declaration of war. It was vindicated on the plea of the unjust right assumed by Spain to search all ships navigating the american seas; the depredations committed by the guarda costas, contrary to existing treaties; the delay of the spanish court in paying the stipulated compensation; the illegal seizure of english goods, and the expulsion of english subjects from the spanish territories. Oct. 19, 1739.

For the first time since the treaty of Utrecht, the sovereign and people of Spain were animated by a common sentiment. Hitherto wars had been instigated by the passions of the king, and the private views of the queen for the aggrandisement of her family; the present was considered as a contest which equally involved the interests and honour of the country and the monarch in the preservation of their commerce and the vindication of their rights.†

* Annals of Europe for 1739, p. 69, 86.

† To rouse the public attention, and give a proper direction to the national enthusiasm, recourse was had to the press. Don B. de Ulloa, a member of the chapter of Seville, with the sanction and under the correction of the junta of commerce, published a work, intitled, "Re-establishment of the Spanish Manufactures and Commerce," the object of which was to shew the advantages of

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Confiding in the disposition of the people, Philip employed rigid measures to raise money for the prosecution of the war. He suspended for a year all pensions and payments from the government, and reduced the interest of the public debts. He withheld for two years all double salaries or benefices attached to any office, except such as were actually filled, making no other exception than widows of military officers and small pensioners. By this decree alone, he saved annually three millions of dollars. He reduced several military and naval appointments, and greatly diminished the expences of the royal household. Besides these retrenchments, he adopted other projects to augment the public resources; and in particular, a scheme for borrowing the funds deposited in monasteries by individuals at a small interest, a measure never undertaken without the permission of the church, and in cases of the most urgent necessity.*

These expedients were calculated to produce annually near a million sterling. Fortunately also

manufactures and commerce in general; and to exaggerate the injuries done to Spain by the cupidity and enterprise of other nations, particularly England. This work served as an introduction to the republication of the more celebrated treatise of Uztariz, which had been first printed at the moment when Ripperda's schemes were brought forward in 1724; but immediately suppressed from the apparent fear of awakening the jealousy of other powers.

* Annals of Europe, P. 2, p. 94, 97.

at this moment of difficulty and exertion, a new resource was obtained by the arrival of a considerable treasure from America, which escaped the vigilance of the english cruisers.*

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Besides these measures of precaution and defence, Spain adopted a species of hostility, which wounded England in her most sensible part, by harrassing her home trade. Swarms of privateers issued from all points of the spanish coasts, commanded by spanish captains, and manned principally by french sailors, who made numerous captures of merchant vessels entering the channel, or trading to the mediterranean. Within three months after the publication of reprisals, eighteen british ships were carried into the port of St. Sebastian alone; and before the end of the first year, a list sent from Madrid, and published in Holland, contained an enumeration of forty seven captures, valued at £.234,000 sterling. To this was added, the vaunt that forty-four additional privateers were put in commission, and more were daily arming. Before the close of the following year, this list of captures was swelled to more than four hundred ships, valued at above a million sterling. At the same time, a pompous enumeration was circulated of the royal ships of war in Europe and America ready for sea, amounting to 24 of the line, besides

* Tindal, v. 20, p. 425.

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frigates and smaller vessels, carrying 1,980 guns, and 12,775 men.* These vexatious but inevitable depredations inflamed the public discontents in England, and aggravated the general antipathy to the minister, whose reluctance to engage in war was adduced as a proof of a settled design to sacrifice the interest and power of his country.

The principal attacks of England were directed against the possessions of Spain in the new world. But, notwithstanding the defenceless state of these colonies, and the magnitude of the hostile armaments, the detriment was inconsiderable, and the success confined only to a few brilliant exploits, which produced no permanent advantage, and were followed by the most disastrous consequences.

The first alarm was given by the sailing of a squadron under admiral Vernon, consisting of nine men of war, besides smaller ships, and a body of land forces. On reaching Antigua, he detached a part of the squadron to attack several of the azogues, or quicksilver ships, which were richly laden in the little port of La Guare, on the coast of Caraccas. But the place being too well protected to be taken by a small force, the british ships, after committing and receiving some partial damage, abandoned their predatory enterprise.

* Annals of Europe, p. 90.—Smollett, v. 3, p. 65.

On the 5th of November, the admiral himself proceeded to Porto Bello, the principal object of the expedition, with six ships of the line. The troops were disembarked, and the place attacked both by sea and land, with the characteristic bravery of the british nation. Two forts, commanding the bay, being successively carried, the town was reduced to a capitulation. The prize however was far inferior to the expectations which had given rise to the enterprize; for the most valuable effects had been previously removed, and the captors found only three small vessels; the sum of 10,000 dollars, sent to pay the troops, and a few military stores. They abandoned their capture as hastily as it had been made, after destroying the fortifications; but in the course of the war, they occasionally returned to this commodious port to rest.


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Nov. 21.

This capture, though highly honourable to british courage, was received in England with much greater exultation than it deserved: it was hailed as the harbinger of more daring exploits, which were to revive the memory of antient times, and realise the splendid visions of the south sea project.

The capture of Porto Bello irritated and roused, instead of discouraging the spanish court and nation. The governor, for basely surrendering the place to an inferior force, was brought

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to a trial, and the cry of vengeance against the english became general. A royal decree was issued, for all english subjects to quit Spain; a second denounced the punishment of death against all who either imported the manufactures or productions of England, or vended to the english the commodities of Spain and the colonies. Aware also that the West Indies were the most alluring objects to british cupidity, as well as the most vulnerable parts of the empire, and apprised of the formidable armaments preparing in the british ports for that quarter, the spanish government sent a powerful squadron into the american seas under the command of Pizarro, who prided himself on his descent from the conqueror of Peru. They reinforced the garrisons, and issued the strictest orders to fortify the principal posts and fortresses, particularly Carthagena, against which the english meditated their next attack.*

* Ortiz, b. 24, ch. 5.—Ulloa *Restablecimiento de las fabricas y commercio Español*, passim—Uztariz.—Desormeaux, t. 5.—Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole from ch. 50 to 55.—Deductions on the depredations, &c. between Great Britain and Spain.—Considerations on the navigation and commerce of Great Britain in America.—MSS. Walpole Papers.—Annals of Europe for 1739, 1740.—Tindal, passim.—Treaties, &c. in Rousset and other collections of public papers.—Postlethwayte's Commercial Dictionary, Art. Asiento, British America, Logwood and South Sea Company.

CHAPTER THE FORTY-FOURTH.

1740—1742.

Death of the emperor, Charles the sixth—Accession of Maria Theresa—Claimants on the austrian succession—Hostile designs of France and Spain—Invasion of Silesia by the king of Prussia—Spanish expedition to Italy—Short ministry of Campillo—War in spanish America—Failure of the attack against Carthagena, and the isle of Cuba—Expedition of Commodore Anson.


WHILE these events were passing in the new world, and while Spain and England were vying in their preparations for war, the death of the emperor, Charles the sixth, excited a general commotion in Europe, and opened to the view of Philip and his consort the prospect of that aggrandisement for their second son, Don Philip, which had long been the darling object of their ambition.

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Oct. 20, 1740.

It was a just remark of prince Eugene to the deceased emperor, while he was sacrificing every consideration, and every object, to obtain the guaranty of his pragmatic sanction, that an army of 200,000 men, and an ample treasure, were of more efficient service, than all his engagements on paper. Unfortunately, both for his country and for christendom, the emperor did not duly

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appreciate this advice, and at his death left treaties with all the princes of Europe, but an army weakened by his unsuccessful campaigns against the turks, and a treasure exhausted almost to the last florin. His successor, Maria Theresa, was a princess only twenty-three years of age, without experience, and surrounded by ministers, habituated to the routine of office, but superannuated, and deficient in spirit, decision, and talents, for so delicate and dangerous an emergency.*

Although Philip had followed the example of other powers, in giving a solemn guaranty of the austrian succession; yet his scruples of conscience proved of as little force in this instance, as in his renunciation of the french crown, or in any other case where his personal ambition or political interests were involved. He joined the claimants on the austrian inheritance. Besides a protest at Vienna, by his ambassador, the duke of Montijo, he laid before the german diet a laboured deduction of his rights to the austrian territories, in virtue of his descent from Charles the fifth, and of the family compacts between that emperor and his brother Ferdinand, by which the german territories were to revert to the elder branch, in failure of issue male. He also strengthened these pretensions, and extended

* House of Austria, vol. 2, ch. 17 and 18.

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his claims to Hungary and Bohemia, by deducing his descent from the different austrian princesses, who had espoused his predecessors on the throne of Spain.* Philip was scarcely extravagant enough to hope that he could realise such extensive claims ; but brought forward his demands to divert the attention of other princes, and secure the austrian territories in Italy, in order to erect a new kingdom of Lombardy, in favour of his son, Don Philip.

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The forlorn situation of Maria Theresa encouraged other princes to form enterprizes which an efficient power would have checked, and all the different sovereigns who held, or fancied they held, claims on the vast succession of the House of Austria, either produced or prepared to produce them.

The elector of Bavaria, the only prince who had not guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, first announced his intentions by protesting against the assumption of the government by Maria Theresa. He was secretly supported by France and Spain, who, while they instigated the secondary states to provoke a rupture, were actively preparing the means of an attack, which was intended to effect the total ruin of the rival house of Austria. Other princes followed.

* Rousset, t. 15, p. 1—35, where these several memorials and deductions are given.

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the example, on principles more or less founded, particularly the elector Palatine, and the king of Poland.

Philip was eager to commence hostilities, and carry the war into Italy, where he hoped for rapid and complete success; because the queen of Hungary, embarrassed by a sudden irruption of the king of Prussia into Silesia, had been reduced to withdraw great part of her troops from the Milanese, for the defence of the hereditary countries. He therefore joined with France in forming a confederacy with the king of Prussia, and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, to maintain the war in Germany; and entered into a negotiation with the king of Sardinia, whose support was indispensably necessary for the advantageous prosecution of a war in Italy. He adroitly concealed his real views on the Milanese, and, by promises and lures, engaged Charles Emanuel to accede to the league with the german princes.

May 18, 1741.

While France was pouring her forces into Germany, and, in conjunction with Prussia and Spain, was disposing of the imperial crown in favour of the elector of Bavaria, Philip pursued the plan formed by Montemar for obtaining a footing in Italy. In execution of this design, the neapolitan troops occupied the fortresses on the coasts of Tuscany, belonging to Naples, and


a considerable force was drawn to the eastern ports of Spain, to land, as in former instances, in the genoese territory, and carry the war into Tuscany and Lombardy.

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But his armaments were held in check by the presence of the british fleet in the Mediterranean until the close of 1741. At that period France had matured her preparations for taking a vigorous part in the war, and, still affecting to avoid offensive operations against England, she collected a fleet at Toulon, to protect the transport of the spanish troops to Italy. The necessary arrangements being completed, the spanish squadron of thirteen ships passed the straits from Cadiz, while the british admiral was refitting at Gibraltar, and stretched along the eastern coasts to unite with the fleet from Toulon. They were chased by the british admiral, who came up with them at the time when the french fleet appeared in sight. He bore down to engage the spaniards; but the french admiral stretching between him and the enemy, sent a flag of truce, announcing that he was engaged in the same expedition, and if the spaniards were attacked, was ordered to protect them. Haddock, unable to combat a force of double his number, retired to Port Mahon, and the two fleets unmolested convoyed the armament of 15,000 men, which had been collected at Barcelona, to the genoese coast.

October.

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At this period a change took place in the ephemeral ministry of Madrid. Villarias being only fitted for the drudgery of office, the grand designs of the moment called forth a more able actor on the political scene, whose very name is scarcely known beyond the limits of Spain. This person was Don Joseph del Campillo, who by merit and industry rose to the highest offices of state, and carried on the plans of Patiño, in whose school he was formed.

He was born at Alles, in the Asturias, in 1693, and educated for holy orders. He first attracted the notice of Don Francisco de Ocio, intendant of Seville, to whom he became secretary. He was afterwards patronized by Patiño, then intendant of the marine, and by his interest was placed in the navy pay office at Cadiz. In 1717 he accompanied the expedition to Sardinia. The following year he was promoted, and displaying extraordinary talents during the naval war in the Mediterranean, he was, on his return to Cadiz, made a commissary of the marine.

From this time he was honoured with the notice of government, and frequently consulted. In 1709 he accompanied an expedition to America, and fortunately saved the crew of the *St. Luis*, which was wrecked on the coast of Campeachy.


On his return he filled other offices, of which

no account is preserved. He was denounced to the inquisition, but honourably acquitted, and invested with the order of St. Jago. When the expedition was undertaken against Naples, he accompanied it as commissary general to the army, and distinguished himself in the contest, which secured that crown to the infant Don Carlos.

As his abilities were duly appreciated in Spain, he was recalled by Philip the fifth, who entrusted to him the management of the royal revenues in Aragon. This office was, however, only preparatory to more important avocations. At the critical period when the hopes and fears of Europe were awakened by the contest for the austrian succession, he was raised to the helm of state, and charged with the departments of the marine, finances, and war. Probably at this time also his services were rewarded with the commandery of Oliva. He displayed great activity and ability in the management of the marine and finances, and exerted himself in correcting many abuses in the administration. But his power was of transitory duration, for he died suddenly at Madrid, in April 1743.

He was the author of several writings on subjects of political economy, particularly, "Spain awakened," "The Superfluities and Deficiencies of Spain," and "A new System of Govern-

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ment for the American Colonies.”* He was succeeded in his offices and influence by another pupil of Patiño, Don Zeno Somo de Villa, afterwards known under the more celebrated title of marquis de la Ensenada.†

Suspending our narrative of the european transactions, we again turn our attention to the western world, where unusual dangers impended over the spanish colonies. The english had fitted out a formidable fleet, which appears to have been first destined to act on the northern coasts of Spain. This armament being detained by contrary winds, the design was changed, and two months afterwards, a fleet of twenty-one ships of the line, under sir Chaloner Ogle, conveying a body of 9,000 men, commanded by lord Cathcart, took its departure to the West Indies. When it united with the fleet at Jamaica, Vernon assumed the naval command, and general Wentworth succeeded to the chief direction of the land force, on the death of lord Cathcart. This formidable armament was intended against the isles and settlements in the gulf of Mexico, while commodore Anson was dispatched with a small squadron of three ships, to skirt the coasts of

* “Espana despierta.” “Lo que hay de mas y de menos en Espana.” “El nuevo Sistema del Gobierno para las Americas.” Extracted from “Retratos de los Españoles ilustres.” Mad. 1791.

† Sucinta Relacion del marques de la Ensenada, MS. Ortiz, lib. 24, cap. 6.

Peru and Chili, and by the capture of Panama, to establish a communication across the isthmus, which unites the northern and southern continents of America. It was justly calculated that an enterprise which would bar the channel of communication between the two worlds, by depriving Spain of her american treasures, would speedily reduce her to pacific sentiments.

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Fortunately for Spain, the delays derived from the seasons and climate, and the obstacles, political and natural, which always affect the operations of an english squadron in distant regions, detained the grand fleet till the commencement of the periodical rains. The presence of two french squadrons in the West Indies, also contributed to distract the british force; and it was not till after the return of these suspicious visitors to Europe, that the commanders ventured to proceed to the object of their expedition. After a tedious passage against the wind towards Hispaniola, the armament directed its course to Carthagena.

The delays which had accompanied all the operations of this extensive armament, enabled the spaniards to complete their measures of defence. The place was defended by Don Sebastian, marquis de Eslava, viceroy of New Granada, a brave and skilful officer, who panted to practise in the service of his country, those

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virtues which he had admired and studied in greek and roman history.* He communicated his own spirit to his garrison, embodied the crews of the several vessels lying in the harbour, and even armed the slaves. He strengthened the fortifications, and obstructed the entrance of the harbour by booms and sunk vessels. Before the english armament approached the land, the long inlet, at the head of which Carthagena is situated, was fortified with various works, in the most commanding situations, mounted with above 200 pieces of heavy artillery; and, besides the usual obstacles, three men of war were moored as floating batteries against the narrowest part of the passage.

Though these measures of defence might have resisted an army of 40,000 men, the english commenced the attack with their characteristic intrepidity. A division of the fleet drove the spaniards from the advanced forts, Chamba, St. Philip, and Santiago, which were instantly occupied, and part of the troops, stores, and artillery were landed. The attack was next directed against the castle of Bocca Chica, or narrowest part of the passage, which was mounted with no less than 80 pieces of artillery. While it was vigorously assailed by land, admiral Lestock, with a division of the fleet, opened a heavy cannonade

March 22,
1741.

* Desormeaux, t. 5, p. 458.

against the part towards the water. A breach being effected, a party of seamen landed, and with the support of the troops, carried the fort and dependent works. In consequence of this success, the Gallicia, one of the floating batteries, was captured, and the spaniards themselves burnt or sunk the two others. The numerous batteries which swept every part of the passage, were gradually silenced, the fleet proceeded up the bay, and found the Castillo Grande and another considerable work already abandoned. The troops being re-embarked, and landed within a league of the town, the design was formed to carry fort St. Lazarus, which being situated on a commanding height, overlooking the place, would ensure its speedy reduction.

Proud of these successes, the british admiral sent dispatches to England, announcing his confidence of the immediate surrender. So sanguine were the public expectations of this event, that a medal was struck representing on one side Carthage, and on the other, the head of admiral Vernon, with an appropriate inscription to the avenger of his country's honour. But while the british nation were fondly anticipating the conquest, and the spaniards were trembling for the safety of a place which nearly involved the fate of their american empire, the firmness of the garrison, the miserable want of union and skill

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in the assailants, and the dreadful effects of disease and a baneful climate, frustrated an enterprise which may be said to have held all Europe in suspense.

April 19.

The british troops and reinforcements from America, having been landed and drawn towards the town, the approaching change of the season induced the general to attempt the capture of St. Lazarus by escalade. Twelve hundred men, selected for the desperate enterprise, ascended the height on which the fort is placed, with a resolution inspired by native gallantry and ignorance of danger. But on reaching the works, it was discovered, that by some unaccountable oversight, the scaling ladders were too short, and the fascines and materials destined to cover and facilitate their approach, were left behind. In this disastrous situation, these undaunted assailants calmly supported the fire of the fort for a considerable time, and disdained to retire till half their number had fallen, unavailing victims of ill directed bravery. Their retreat was harassed by a vigorous sally from the place.

This failure aggravated the disunion between the admiral and general. The universal distress was increased by the alarming effects of disease, which, in the short space of two days, reduced the efficient force from six ~~to~~ three thousand men. To escape defeat ~~even~~ from the garrison

which they had attempted to besiege, they had no other resource than to relinquish the enterprise ; and after destroying the fortifications which they had reduced, re-embarked the remnant of the troops, and directed their course to Jamaica.

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April 24.

While the settlements on the mexican side were thus fruitlessly attacked, the coast of Peru was exposed to similar alarms. The squadron of admiral Pizarro, having severely suffered in an attempt to double Cape Horn, was unable to prevent the enterprises of Anson. Though the english commander had suffered materially by the same tempests, he effected his passage into the pacific ocean ; spread consternation along the tranquil coasts of Peru and Chili ; and after plundering the rich city of Païta, crowned his enterprises by taking on his return the Nuestra Señora de Covadonga, an Acapulco ship, the richest capture which had ever been brought to the british shores, and indeed the only serious loss incurred by Spain.

The defeat of a subsequent attempt on Cuba secured the safety of the spanish empire in America, and completed the disasters of the english arms. With only 3,000 men, the discouraged and exhausted remnant of the troops which had been repulsed at Carthagena, aided by a body of 1,000 negroes from Jamaica, the british chiefs formed the extravagant design of reducing

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July 18.


so extensive an island, strong by nature and fortified by art. They were, however, sufficiently discreet, not to attempt the Havannah, but disembarking at the bay of Guantánamo, directed their course to St. Jago de Cuba, the principal town, which commanded the eastern passage, and was the resort of numerous privateers. After reaching the harbour and dignifying it with the name of Cumberland, in honour of the royal duke, they discovered that their force was inadequate to the enterprise. A council of war was held, and Vernon sullenly yielding to the decision of the land officers, returned once more to Jamaica with the loss of 1,800 men, and great quantities of provisions and stores, from the partial attacks of the spaniards. This second failure inflamed the mutual dissatisfaction which reigned between the land and sea forces, and completed the breach between the chiefs. The army and fleet, if they deserved the name, were almost ruined; and it is calculated by a contemporary historian, that no less than 20,000 lives were wildly sacrificed in these ill directed and ill-fated enterprises.*

Subsequent and less important attempts made by the english on the coasts of the new world were frustrated by the divisions between the chiefs, and the unhealthiness of the climate,

* Tindal, v. 20, p. 513.

joined to the precautions of the spanish officers, who, from every advantage, drew new spirit and resources. Their efforts were at length almost confined to councils and deliberations; and their misfortunes greatly contributed to lessen that dread of english prowess, which the daring spirit of the buccaneers had rendered proverbially terrible in the american world. When at length the french entered into the contest, the british power was crippled; the combined fleets frequently divided the empire of the american seas, and, except a few occasional captures, the treasures of the new world, the great aliment of the war in Europe, regularly found their way to the coasts of Old Spain.*

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1740—1742.



* Ortiz, lib. 24, c. 6.—Desormeaux, t. 5.—Tindal, passim.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 3, and 4, passim.—Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs, v. 1, passim.—State of Europe—Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, ch. 54.

CHAPTER THE FORTY-FIFTH.

1741—1744.

Spanish expeditions to Italy—Operations of 1741 and 1742—Repulse and retreat of the spanish general Montemar towards Naples—The king of Naples compelled to accept a neutrality—Fatal effects derived from the recall of his troops—Campaign of 1743—Montemar replaced by Gages—Battle of Campo Santo—New and fruitless attempts to gain the king of Sardinia—Treaties of Worms and Fontainebleau—Marriage of the dauphin with the infanta Maria Theresa—Events of 1744—Expedition against England frustrated—Naval engagement in the Mediterranean—Divisions in the spanish and french fleets—Unfortunate expedition of Don Philip and the prince of Conti across the Alps—Operations in southern Italy—The king of Naples breaks his neutrality—The austrians attempt to surprise Velletri.

CHAP. 45.

1741—1744.

ON the disembarkation of the spanish troops in Italy, Philip no longer concealed his views for the intire conquest of austrian Lombardy, and with great reason deemed himself secure of success. Besides confiding in the co-operation of Sardinia, he relied on the support of a french army which was to penetrate into Italy under the command of the infant Don Philip. He awed or persuaded the pope to permit the march of 15,000 neapolitans through the ecclesiastical state; by means of the french interest, he secured the neutrality of Tuscany; by a secret treaty which was cemented by a marriage with

a french princess, the duke of Modena yielded the temporary possession of his important fortresses; and from fear or interest the genoese were disposed to allow the passage of the spanish forces through their territory. Thus he had obtained the means of collecting and maintaining a powerful army in the heart of Italy; while the austrians, without a direct support, were scarcely sufficient in number to form the necessary garisons.

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1741—1744.

Dec. 3, 1741.

Feb. 1742.

The duke of Montemar, who headed the expedition collected in the eastern ports of Spain, landed with the first division at Orbitello; and immediately advanced into the ecclesiastical state to unite with the neapolitans; while fresh troops continued to disembark on the coasts of Genoa. But at this important juncture, the formidable projects of the spanish court were disconcerted by the defection of the king of Sardinia. That artful prince had equally negotiated with both the contending parties. Although he had concluded a treaty with the House of Bourbon, yet he had no sooner ascertained the views of Spain on the Milanese, than he profited by the mediation of England, to form an arrangement with the court of Vienna, as the only expedient for promoting his personal interests, and preventing the establishment of a rival power in Lombardy. He obtained a subsidy from England, and con-

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1741—1744.

Feb. 1, 1742.

cluded a provisional treaty with Maria Theresa, in which, without relinquishing his own pretensions to the Milanese, he agreed to unite with her in preventing the entrance of all invaders into Italy. With the same spirit which had dictated this treaty, he introduced a clause reserving to each of the contracting parties the power of withdrawing from the alliance, after the notice of a month. Meanwhile, he adroitly continued to deceive the courts of France and Spain, to gain time for fortifying his places, and preparing for war; and when his measures were fully matured, he confounded his former confederates by publishing at once his alliance with Austria, and his pretensions to the Milanese. At the same time, he put his troops in motion towards the Modenese and Placentia, to prevent the advance of the spaniards, and form a junction with his new allies. At this period, also, the favourable turn of affairs in Germany enabling the queen of Hungary to send reinforcements into Italy, general Traun detached a considerable body to the south of the Po, and anticipated the spaniards by occupying a part of the Modenese.

March.

May 29.

Nothing but a decisive effort could enable the spanish general to maintain his precarious position in Italy. Accordingly he united with the neapolitans; and the different columns of his

army, directing their march towards the Po, formed a junction in the neighbourhood of Bologna to the number of 40,000 men. He immediately occupied Modena and Mirandola, and the duke, unwilling to await the fate of war, abandoned his territories and retired to Venice. But although the spanish commander was charged with positive orders to risk a battle, he was not sufficiently strong to remain even on the defensive. After witnessing the reduction of Modena and Mirandola, he fell back towards the neapolitan frontier, and was followed by the austrosardinians as far as Rimini.

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1741—1744.

June 12.

July 22.

At the moment when Montemar was driven out of Lombardy with the loss of nearly half his army, a division of the british fleet suddenly appearing off Naples, demanded the neutrality of the king, with threats of an immediate bombardment. The ministers received the english captain who conveyed the summons, and endeavoured to elude the imperious demand by a negotiation. But the gallant seaman, laying his watch on the table, informed them that their decision must be given within the short space of a single hour. It was vain to argue against so prompt and decisive a mode of treating; to save the capital from destruction, the king complied, and gave a formal promise in writing to observe an exact neutrality. This extraordinary nego-

Aug. 20.

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tion forms a singular contrast to the congresses and discussions which have lingered out for years on matters of inferior importance; for only twenty-four hours elapsed between the first appearance of the british squadron, and the moment of its departure from the bay.*

The consequent retreat of the neapolitan troops was a fatal reverse to the spanish cause, and suspended all their well combined plans of conquest. Montemar, who was blamed for the ill success of the campaign, and represented as superannuated, was recalled,† and succeeded by the count de Gages, a younger and more active general, who had gained the confidence of his sovereigns. But the change produced no important effect during the campaign; for the commander, after a movement towards the Modenese, merely to maintain his reputation for activity, withdrew into winter quarters. The austrosardinians followed the example by retiring, the austrians to the country on the Panaro, and the sardinians to their own territories.

Notwithstanding the forced retreat of the neapolitans, and the extreme difficulty of recruit-

* See a good account of this curious transaction in Tindal, vol. 20, p. 570, 573.

† Ortiz attributes the failure and consequent disgrace of Montemar to the intrigues of Campillo; but we think a sufficient cause may be found in the defection of the king of Sardinia and the superior force and exertions of the enemy.

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ing the army from Spain, while the british squadron hovered on the shores of the Mediterranean; the queen was so anxious for a new invasion of Lombardy, in order to co-operate with an intended irruption from France across the Alps, that she sent peremptory orders to Gages to attack the enemy within three days, or resign his command. He obeyed this imperious mandate with equal spirit and promptitude. Silently drawing his troops from their cantonments, and slipping from a ball at Bologna purposely given to mask his design, he made a rapid march to surprise the austrians cantoned on the Panaro. His movements, however, could not be concealed from so vigilant a general as Traun; on his arrival at Campo Santo, he found the enemy drawn up to receive him. Though foiled in his project, he did not hesitate to commence a desperate conflict, which began at four in the afternoon, and continued several hours by moonlight. Being superior in numbers, he at first obtained some advantage over the austrian cavalry; but unable to force the strong position of their infantry, after a short but bloody conflict, he retired again to Bologna, with considerable loss. The capture of several colours, kettledrums, and some artillery, gave the court of Madrid a pretext for claiming the victory. But on the arrival of succours to Traun, Gages announced his

Feb. 3, 1743.

March.

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inferiority by falling back to Rimini with an army reduced to 4,000 men. During the remainder of the campaign, these forces continued inactive, because the principal exertions both political and military were turned to the side of Piemont.*

1742. The failure of Gages only rendered the french and spaniards more eager to force a passage over the Alps, and to gain or overpower the king of Sardinia. During the latter part of the preceding year, troops had been gradually assembled in Provence and Dauphiné, reinforcements drawn from Corsica, and Don Philip himself took the command. All his efforts, however, terminated in a vain attempt, first to penetrate along the coast by Nice, and afterwards to force a passage through Savoy.
1743. During the season of inaction, endeavours were made to secure the alliance of the king of Sardinia, and France lured him with an offer of a french princess for his son the prince of Piemont, and assisting him in the acquisition of Genoa. On the other hand, as Maria Theresa in the confidence of success began to undervalue his services, and delayed the cessions which had been promised as the price of his assistance, he lent a favourable ear to the overtures of France and Spain. However, he still continued his negotiations with the

* Muratori, 1742.—House of Austria, ch. 33.

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Sept. 2, 1743.

court of Vienna, alternately taking advantage of the wants and jealousies of both parties, to promote his own interest at their common expence. He thus succeeded in rendering the bourbon troops inactive, until the unwillingness of Spain to comply with his demand of the whole Milanese, and the change wrought in the disposition of the austrian cabinet by the remonstrances of England, convinced him that he had attained the most propitious moment for taking a decisive part. At the instant, therefore, when the bourbon courts were acting with almost implicit confidence in his co-operation, or at least his neutrality, he again surprised them by announcing the offensive alliance of Worms, concluded with Austria and England. The queen of Hungary once more rewarded his assistance by ceding the city and part of the duchy of Pavia, and county of Anghiera, and by renouncing in his favour her pretensions to the marquisate of Finale, which had been mortgaged to the genoese. She engaged to maintain 30,000 men in Italy, to act with 40,000 piemontese, under his own command. England granted him an annual subsidy of £.200,000, with the sum of £.300,000 for the redemption of Finale, and promised to send a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean to favour the operations of the allied armies.*

* Sir Thomas Robinson's dispatches from Vienna, 1743.

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Oct. 23.

To counterbalance the alliance of Austria, England, and Sardinia, the bourbon courts renewed their union by the treaty of Fontainebleau, which was soon afterwards cemented by a marriage between the dauphin and the infanta, Maria Theresa. In this engagement, which was styled a perpetual offensive and defensive alliance, France and Spain mutually guaranteed all their present possessions, with all their rights and acquisitions present or future, and promised never to quit their arms, nor enter into negotiation, except by common consent. The king of France guaranteed to Don Carlos the possession of Naples and Sicily, and engaged to assist in procuring the Milanese with the duchies of Parma and Placentia for Don Philip, on the condition, that the queen of Spain should enjoy the two last duchies during her life, as her family inheritance. He was to renew hostilities against the king of Sardinia, in conjunction with Spain, to declare war against England, to assist in recovering the isle of Minorca, and never to conclude peace without the restoration of Gibraltar.*

Meanwhile hostilities had recommenced in Italy. On the side of Naples, prince Lobcowitz, who succeeded Traun in the command, drove the spaniards from their position at Rimini, and


* Memoires de Noailles, t. 6, p. 135—138.

forced them to draw nearer to the frontier of Naples. On that of the Alps, Don Philip, leaving 30,000 men in Savoy, made a desperate attempt to force his way with 20,000 men through the valley of Chateau Dauphin. But he was repulsed by the able dispositions of the king of Sardinia; and after a short struggle against the severities of the season, and the difficulties of the country, again descended into Dauphiné. These operations closed the campaign of 1743 in Italy.*

The losses which the spaniards had sustained, and still more the obstruction of their commerce, joined to the expence of maintaining alone a naval war against England, created great discontents, and the court of Madrid made the most earnest instances to France to unite their marine against the common enemy. The queen in particular was indignant at the obstructions which prevented the transport of troops into Italy; while the pride of the nation was wounded at seeing the spanish squadron blockaded in the port of Toulon, by a british fleet inferior to the combined force of the House of Bourbon. The ill success of the contest in Germany, and the change produced in the principles of the french

* House of Austria, ch. 25.—Muratori, 1743.—Memoires de Richelieu, t. 6, *passim*.—Annals of Europe, 1743.

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cabinet by the death of cardinal Fleury, gave effect to these representations. At length France became a principal in every branch of the war.

A plan was accordingly formed, which, if successful, would have produced a decisive effect. It was intended to take advantage of the domestic feuds which agitated England, and the discontents against the reigning family, and once more to bring forward the cause of the Pretender, supported by their whole naval, and a part of their military power. A secret treaty was signed, in which Spain engaged to advance the necessary funds. The combined fleets at Toulon were to attack the british squadron, under admiral Matthews, in the Mediterranean ; while an armament was prepared in the ports of the channel, to convey to the british coast 15,000 men, with the young Pretender, under the command of marshal Saxe. The operation was to be protected by the united squadrons from Rochfort and Brest, which were deemed of sufficient force to overpower the british fleet stationed in the channel. It was hoped that, if this grand design was carried into execution without a formal declaration of war on the part of France, the english coast would be found unguarded, and the fleet unprepared.

But these hopes and calculations were frus-

trated by the vigilance of the british government, and by the cordial union of all ranks and parties, however divided in political sentiments, against a common enemy. The french fleets indeed stretched up the channel and took their stations off the points selected to cover the passage of the transports; one division between Calais and Boulogne, a second off Dunkirk, while an advanced squadron anchored under Dungeness. The british admiral, sir John Norris, apprised of the plans and movements of the enemy, drew back as they approached, towards Portsmouth; collected by a vigorous impress a reinforcement of several ships; and, sailing to the Downs, was joined by another division from Chatham. Thus become superior to the enemy, he returned towards the channel, and appeared round the south Foreland, at the moment when the french division anchored off Dungeness. The turns of the tide, or a momentary indecision, preventing an engagement that night, the french, conscious of their inferiority, profited by the fortunate delay, made sail, and being favoured by a strong gale for four days, regained their station at Brest. But the wind which had saved the fleet proved fatal to the transports. Several were driven on shore, many greatly damaged, and like the enterprise of the Armada, this grand attempt was totally frustrated, after the son of the Pretender

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and the commander in chief had arrived so near as to obtain a view of the promised land.*


The designs connected with this plan led to an action in the Mediterranean. The british admiral, Matthews, was at the head of twenty-nine ships of the line, and ten frigates; but the spanish and french admirals, Don Joseph Navarro and M. de Court, were well aware that his ships were in bad condition, from the length of time they had kept the sea. They expected, not without reason, that the violent disputes which existed between him and his second, Lestock, would prevent any cordial co-operation. Relying also on the heaviness of their own metal, and the superior force of some individual ships, they determined to risk an engagement, though their force amounted only to twenty-eight men of war and six frigates. Accordingly, quitting the harbour of Toulon, they directed their course towards the bay of Hieres, where the british fleet was stationed. Matthews was apprised of their movements, and

Feb. 24, 1744. at break of day the two fleets approached. The combined admirals, or at least the french, appearing as if desirous to stretch towards the mouth of the straits, Matthews broke his line, and made every effort to commence an engagement, bearing down himself on the Real, the spanish

* Tindal, v. 21, p. 19—23.

flag ship, and seconded by the Marlborough. A fight took place, between a part of the combined fleet and the division which followed the example of the british admiral, and was sustained with great spirit by several of the spanish and french captains. But they must finally have yielded, had Matthews been properly supported by Lestock, who, keeping aloof, calmly suffered his principal to bear the whole brunt of the engagement; and had not the french admiral de Court displayed great dexterity in his manœuvres to extricate the disabled ships. When night separated the combatants, the effects of the struggle had fallen heavy on the spaniards. The admiral's ship, reduced to a mere wreck, was towed out of the line, after sinking a fire ship sent against her; the Royal Philip was disabled; the Poder, twice taken and retaken, was abandoned on the following day, and finally burnt by the english. At the conclusion of the battle, the combined fleets drew toward the coast of Spain, where they were separated in a gale of wind; the french were driven into Alicante, the spaniards into Carthagena. Matthews endeavoured to regain his station off Toulon, to watch the motions of four spanish ships which had been left in the harbour for want of their complement, but was obliged to bear away to Minorca to refit

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his ships. He, as well as Lestock, was soon afterwards recalled, to undergo a trial for their failure.

Although the combined fleets retreated in great disorder, and were only saved by the divisions among the english commanders; yet as their united force was numerically inferior, the very circumstance of a drawn battle on an element where the english had never yet been conquered, was a cause of exultation. Its effects were for a time even equal to a partial victory. While the british admiral was refitting, the spaniards transported vast supplies of every kind to their armies in Italy, and enabled them to resume their activity. The court of Madrid indeed claimed, or affected to claim the victory by public rejoicings, and rewarded the admiral with the pompous title of marquis de la Victoria.

But the event itself produced the greatest detriment to the bourbon cause. The circumstances of the action furnished fresh fuel for the national antipathy against the french, and excited contentions which marred all their future operations by sea. Although the manoeuvres of de Court had saved his colleague; yet his apparent wish to avoid a decisive engagement, was stigmatised as cowardice or treachery, and the spaniards claimed the whole merit and honours


of the day.* Philip, at the instigation of his officers, made the most bitter representations to the king of France, and obtained the temporary disgrace of de Court, a measure highly impolitic in itself, and calculated to give new force to their mutual discord; for, from this period till the close of the war, the two nations could not venture to unite their naval force. The spanish ships remained in their ports, and the french suffered repeated losses in detail, both parties leaving the mastery of the Mediterranean uncontested to the english.†

During this naval warfare, the french and spaniards redoubled their efforts to regain the superiority by land. To compensate for past failures, and above all, to chastise the king of Sardinia, whose exertions had principally contributed to baffle their designs, they respectively furnished reinforcements of 20,000 men, with every requisite for the difficult war of the Alps. An army of 60,000 men being rapidly formed, was placed under the command of Don Philip and the prince of Conti. They first attempted to penetrate along the coast, and cross the Col di Tende, into the plain of Piemont, in which operation they expected support from the genoese,

* Ortiz, adopting the prejudice of his country, stigmatises the conduct of de Court as "a policy, or rather a treachery, not unusual with the french;" t. 7, p. 501.

† Politiques de tous les Cabinets, t. 2, p. 105.

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who were offended by the transfer of Finale to the king of Sardinia. Animated by the heroic example of their youthful commanders, the combined army crossed the Var, occupied Nice, carried the entrenchments of Montalbano and Villafranca, and forced the troops who guarded these passes, to take refuge on board the british fleet, or fall back on the main army, which occupied the central position of Coni. Their further progress was however arrested. The threats of the british admiral deterred the genoese from granting a passage; the loss which they had sustained in their different engagements, amounting to scarcely less than 12,000 men, weakened their means of attack; before them were steep and rugged mountains, defended by the sardinian troops, and a country too sterile to afford that subsistence, which the vigilance of the british fleet prevented them from drawing either from Spain or France.


They then formed the design of a new irruption through the valley of the Stura, which, though liable to uncommon and arduous difficulties, yet afforded readier means of communication with France, and was less perilous than the passage of the Col di Tende. This design they executed with a more daring spirit than even their first exploit. They drew back their troops, scaled the summits which bound the valley of the Stura,

July.

and divided the army into different columns to penetrate at once by the several passes, which intersect the loftiest ridge of the Alps. Here, however, they had to struggle against all the horrors of nature. They were assailed by the sudden and tremendous fury of the alpine storms, and confounded by mountain torrents, which rolling rocks and stones from the heights, swept away the firmest communications, and in a most critical position arrested their toilsome march. From this peril they extricated themselves by an extraordinary expedient. A cord thrown across the torrent afforded the means of extending cables from bank to bank, which were connected, covered, and formed a kind of pendent bridge. Over this they passed. The cannon were dragged by the soldiers themselves, and the columns, led by the alpine shepherds, proceeded towards their destined points of attack, driving before them the scattered parties, and advanced detachments of the enemy. Among other exploits of this memorable passage, the bailli de Givry headed the column which was directed against the entrenchments of Castel Pont and Bellini, two forts near the loftiest summit, defended by two thousand men. Animated by his example, his troops advanced to the assault, amidst a tremendous fire, pushed through the embrasures at the moment when the cannon recoiled, and put

July 20.

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the defenders to the sword. The piemontese were panic-struck by this daring assault; not even the presence and exertions of their sovereign could encourage them to sustain the impetuosity of the enemy. After a faint resistance, they abandoned the Barricades, a tremendous pass, only three fathoms wide, between lofty rocks; defended by a triple entrenchment, and rendered still more unassailable by a rapid torrent.

The spaniards having carried the redoubt of Monte Cavallo, and afterwards the post of Castel Delfino, the whole army descended along the course of the Stura, and invested Demont, the fortifications of which were still unfinished. Notwithstanding the advance of the king of Sardinia with his army, the same good fortune attended their enterprise; for one of the magazines having exploded, the garrison were speedily reduced to surrender. The king fell back to Saluzzo, to prevent them from gaining his rear by pushing a column through the valley of Vraita, and they were left without an obstacle to form the siege of Coni, the only place which barred their way into the plain of Piemont. This enterprise was, however, far more arduous than the past. The garrison amounted to 7,000 men, under the command of an experienced chief, the baron de Leutrum; the place was

admirably fortified and formidable from the situation and works; the citizens flew to arms; the loyal inhabitants of the surrounding mountains infested every route by which the army maintained its communication with France. At this juncture also, a considerable reinforcement of austrians reached the sardinian camp, and replaced the losses sustained in the recent conflicts.


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These accumulated difficulties and dangers seemed only to rouse the courage of the bourbon troops, and call forth new exertions in their commanders. Although from the diminution of their numbers and the nature of the site they could not form a complete blockade; the trenches were opened on the 13th of September, the batteries soon afterwards began to play, and the approaches were pushed with all the vigour which the situation would permit. So rapid indeed was their progress, that on the 30th, the king drew near with his whole army to distract their operations, or throw succours into the place. By accident or design, his troops hurried to an attack; and after a violent conflict, terminated only by the night, he retired to a position within a mile and a half of their works. Convinced of the high importance of the stake for which he was contending, he in a few days made a new effort, and from the imperfection of

Sept. 13.

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the blockade, succeeded in throwing into the fortress a reinforcement of 1,000 men, with an ample supply of ammunition and provisions.

Oct. 22.

The success of this attempt frustrated all the plans of the Bourbon commanders. After a siege of forty days, they had not gained even the exterior works of the fortress; their army had dreadfully suffered from want, hardships, fatigue, and disease; their communications were infested by swarms of hostile mountaineers; in front was the Sardinian army ready to repeat the attack, while behind, the storms and snows of the approaching season, threatened to bar their return across the Alps. In this situation they had no resource but a precipitate retreat. They hastily raised the siege, abandoned their sick and wounded, and began to scale the mountains which they had descended with such difficulty, surrounded and harassed by swarms of enemies. To secure their safety, the cavalry led the march, and the infantry closed the rear. The castle of Demont, retained for a short time to cover this delicate movement, was then blown up. The army in a single column slowly descended from the crest of the alpine heights, amidst snows and ice; and after suffering distresses and privations far more dreadful than those with which they had contended in their advance, regained the vales of Dauphiné, worn out with fatigue and

hardships, reduced to less than half the original number ; and conveying only the artillery, which the honour of the soldiers would not permit them to abandon.*

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In the south of Italy, the war raged with equal fury. Considerable reinforcements arriving from Germany, prince Lobcowitz advanced against the spaniards, forced them to abandon their position, and, while the english squadron interrupted their progress along the coast of the Adriatic, harrassed their rear till they reached the Tronto, the boundary of Naples. This approach of an enemy to the frontier roused the neapolitan court. The king collected 17,000 men, and without disclaiming his neutrality, took the route to Abruzzo to join the spaniards, under the plea of preserving his country from insult. He justified his conduct by charging the austrian commander with an attempt to excite his subjects to insurrection.


March.

This movement disconcerted Lobcowitz. Instead of advancing along the shore of the Adriatic, he changed his plan, endeavouring to outstrip the bourbon troops, and enter the country by the route that leads through Rome and Velletri directly to the capital. He rapidly traversed the

May.

* Muratori, 1744.—House of Austria, ch. 26.—Memoires de Richelieu, t. 6, ch. 33.

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June.

peninsula, reached Rome on the 24th of May, and directed his march towards Albano. He was, however, closely followed by the king of Naples, who, uniting with the spaniards at St. Germano, and advancing into the ecclesiastical state, took post at Velletri at the very moment when the austrian army appeared in sight.


Posted on opposite heights, and separated only by a narrow valley, the contending armies endeavoured to gain the advantage of position in a continued series of cannonades and skirmishes. In this situation, Lobcowitz imitated the bold design of Eugene at Cremona, by an attempt to surprise the king and the generals in their head quarters at Velletri, which was situated behind the left wing of the army. He formed the principal part of his troops into two columns, one of 4,000 men to turn the flank of the combined army, and penetrate into the town, while the second, of 10,000 men, forced their position on the heights in front. The first column gained the rear of the enemy before dawn, and routed three regiments of cavalry posted between the heights and the town. Driving before them the irish brigade, they pushed into the place, set fire to the suburbs, and spread general consternation. Several officers of rank were captured;

even the king and the duke of Modena escaped with difficulty to the camp on the heights. The delays of the second column gave Gages an opportunity to detach succours into the town; and the assailants were driven back with great loss, leaving several of their officers and numbers of their body prisoners.

After this exploit, the two armies still continued to harrass each other, though with little effect; and both suffered severely from the unhealthy exhalations of the pontine marshes. At length the austrian general, seeing his troops rapidly thinned by the effects of disease, began his retreat with the dawn of the 1st of November. He sent his suite and baggage to Civita Vecchia, and crossed the Tiber with little difficulty. But he was closely pursued by his vigilant adversary. While the austrians took the route of Viterbo, Gages traversed the range of mountains which skirt the Nera, and attempted by a rapid march to gain Perugia, and cut off their retreat. Lobcowitz, however, reached Perugia at the moment when the heads of the spanish columns were descried, and, detaching a corps to secure Nocera and cover his march, scaled that branch of the Appenines which divides Urbino from the Perugiana. This promptitude saved his army. Gages carried Nocera by storm, but was unable

Nov. 1.

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to retard his march, and both armies closed the campaign by occupying nearly the same positions as at its commencement.*

* Muratori, 1744.—House of Austria, ch. 26.—Beccatini Storia di Carlo 3, p. 131, 148.—Buonamici, passim.—Ortiz, lib. 24, c. 8.

CHAPTER THE FORTY-SIXTH.

1745—1746.


Campaign of 1745 in Italy—Junction of the Bourbon forces in the Genoese territory—Their successful irruption into the plain of Lombardy—Defeat of the Sardinians at Alessandria, and conquest of the Milanese, Parma, and Placentia—Don Philip makes his entry into Milan—Blockade of the citadels of Milan, Alessandria, and Asti—Operations of 1746—Negotiation between France and the king of Sardinia—Dissatisfaction of the court of Madrid—Arrival of Austrian reinforcements—Fatal reverses of the Bourbon arms—The Milanese and other conquests evacuated—Battle of Placentia.

THE Italian campaign of 1745, in boldness of design and rapidity of execution, scarcely finds a parallel in the whole course of military history.

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The experience of preceding years had taught the Bourbon courts, that all attempts to carry their arms across the Alps would be fruitless until they could secure a stable footing in the dominions of the Italian states, or collect a fleet sufficiently powerful to command the maritime communications. They had learnt also, that it was equally difficult to make an effectual impression on the united forces of Austria and Sardinia, by distant and unconnected attacks; while the enemy could concentrate their whole strength

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against any particular quarter, and while the command of the passes between Germany and Italy afforded the means of pouring continual succours to the scene of action.

Hence the plan of this campaign was more bold, consistent, and effectual, than any of the preceding. The bourbon allies availed themselves of the jealousy and alarm excited at Genoa by the transfer of Finale to the king of Sardinia, to engage in their interest a republic, inclosed within the rugged barrier of the Appenines, which would afford a safe support to their intended operations, and a point of union, from which they would assail the most vulnerable side of the hostile territory. The plan, therefore, was to unite the two armies which had wintered on the distant frontiers of Naples and Provence in the vicinity of Genoa, where they were to be augmented by 10,000 auxiliaries on the part of the republic. From thence they purposed to descend along the Taro and Scrivia, to break through the chain of fortresses which skirt the Po, to divide the austrians and sardinians by penetrating into the Milanese; and, when masters of the extensive district which stretches from the Appenines to the mountains of Tyrol, to overwhelm their divided antagonists, with their united force.

Early in the year the active Gages prepared

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to improve the advantages which he had gained over the austrians at the close of the preceding campaign. Collecting his army at Viterbo, he induced by different feints the enemy to extend their forces along the whole frontier of the Bolognese; and then, suddenly traversing the inferior branch of the Appenines, endeavoured to surprise them in their quarters. Though baffled in his design by the vigilance of Lobcowitz, he pressed on their retreat, and followed them to the Secchia, where they took up a strong position in the neighbourhood of Modena.

March 18.

April 13.

While preparing to dislodge them and invade the Modenese, he was commanded to gain the genoese territories, in order to effect that union of force, by which the bourbon courts hoped to decide the fate of the war in Italy. To fulfil his orders he had the choice of three routes, each attended with peculiar perils. It was dangerous to retreat by the broken roads of the Parmesan, before an active and enterprising adversary. In returning through the papal territories and proceeding by sea, it was necessary to pass through a country exhausted by the preceding campaigns, and elude the vigilance of the british squadrons. Lastly, to cross the Appenines into Lucca, at so early a season of the year, was an enterprize pregnant with the most alarming difficulties.

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April 22.


Preferring, however, great but contingent, to inferior and certain hazards, he chose the last, and executed his design with equal celerity and good fortune. To lighten his march he sent his baggage and artillery under an escort of 5,000 men through the papal territories; and when this convoy had gained the advance of a day, he suddenly broke up his camp, and directed his course by the road of Gorzano to the pass of Monte St. Pelegrino. At the foot of the mountain, dividing his army into three columns, he began the ascent. Two experienced little difficulty, but the central column, which he led himself, encountered peculiar hardships. As he approached the rugged, pathless, and arduous heights which crown the chain, most of his baggage horses suddenly foundered from excessive fatigue and intense cold; and the soldiers, loaded with their own necessities, could not proceed without cutting their way for three miles, through the snow, to the depth of four feet. Encouraged however by the exhortations of their chiefs, they at length effected a passage. But they had scarcely descended from the heights, before the mountains were enveloped in one of those alpine tempests, the horrors of which can only be described in the language of poetry. Another suspension of the march, even the delay of a single hour, might have proved fatal to the whole army.

Escaping the effects of the hurricane, they surprised two austrian posts at Castel Nuovo and Veracula, entered the state of Lucca, where they found the necessary refreshment after their fatigues, and passed through Lucca to Sarzana on the genoese frontier. Still however the situation of Gages was critical in the extreme. He had yet to cross the Magra, a rapid torrent from the Appenines, then swollen with the recent rains and melted snow. Before him stretched a wild and rugged district, full of woods, precipices and defiles. He had cause to dread the attacks of the austrians, who hung on his rear, and might detach parties across the mountains of Pontremoli, to harrass his march; his army was worn out with hardship and fatigue; and according to Buonamici, the intelligent narrator of this expedition, he was not even apprised of the recent treaty between the Bourbon courts and the genoese, until he had advanced into the dominions of the republic.

His spirit, resources, and perseverance bore him through these difficulties. Encouraged by an amicable message from Genoa, he began the construction of a bridge over the Magra. Although it was almost instantly swept away by the torrent, he renewed the attempt with better success, and the army recommenced its march. In the midst of this perilous movement, the rear

May 9.

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guard, which remained beyond the Magra, was impetuously attacked by a body of austrian irregulars, who had scaled the neighbouring mountains; but after a short conflict the assailants were repulsed and the passage completed. The bridge was instantly broken down to arrest further pursuit.

Sensible that the enemy might send detachments across the Appenines, and seize the difficult passes of Sestri di Levante, Gages hurried forward parties to occupy the most important posts, and accelerated his march. By this precaution he traversed the eastern Riviera without accident. Notwithstanding the want of forage and provisions, and the difficulties of a rugged and inhospitable country, he reached Genoa, and advanced to occupy the celebrated pass of the Bocchetta.

During this march, the troops in Provence were put in motion, and magazines transported to Nice and Villa Franca, by light vessels, which ran along the shore beyond the reach of the british cruizers. Traversing the maritime Alps, with no other difficulties than those derived from the ruggedness and sterility of the country, they penetrated into the western Riviera, reached Savona in the beginning of June, and detached a reinforcement to Gages in the pass of Bocchetta. Thus, after arduous and astonishing marches,

were assembled within the compass of a few miles, the army from Provence, commanded by the infant Don Philip, who was accompanied by the french general Maillebois, and that of Gages from the frontier of Naples. By the accession of 10,000 genoise, their combined forces amounted to 62,000 men.

Meanwhile the austrian commander, count Schulemburg, the successor of Lobcowitz, rapidly traversed Parma and Placentia, reduced Gavi and Novi, and occupied the valley watered by the Lemo, to prevent the egress of Gages from the Bocchetta. The sardinian army also drew towards the Appenines, and took such positions as were calculated to cover the Montferrat from the invasion of the troops under the infant. These precautions were, however, unavailing against enemies superior in number, and masters of a commanding situation. On one side Gages forced the austrian entrenchments in the valley of the Lemo, dislodged them from the fortified village of Voltaggio, penetrated to Gavi, and by his advanced parties occupied Novi, and the post of Serravalle on the Scrivia. On the other, Don Philip traversed the Appenines, rapidly overran the Montferrat, drove the sardinians beyond the Bormida, and captured Acqui. The way thus opened, both armies

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directed their march towards Alessandria, their intended point of union.

The captured posts being fortified, and the communication with Genoa secured, the bourbon generals hastened to complete their bold and extensive design. As the austro-sardinians had united and taken a position at Bassignano behind the Tanaro, and near its confluence with the Po, they did not venture to form the siege of so strong a fortress as Alessandria, while it could receive continual succours from the combined armies, or to attack their united forces in so formidable a position. To perplex and divide them, they therefore reduced Tortona, Voghera, Castel Nuovo, and Provera, and, pouring detachments into the Parmesan, obtained possession of Bobbio, with Parma and Placentia, the primary objects of the contest.

August.

Sept. 22.

Being thus masters of an extensive tract, with the principal towns south of the Po, they readily effected a passage near the confluence of the Tesino, and by a detachment surprised Pavia. These advantages opened the way to more important successes. The austrians separating from the sardinians to cover the Milanese, which was now defenceless, the bourbon troops suddenly reunited, gained the Tanaro, by a rapid movement in the night, forded it in three columns,

Sept. 27.

although the water reached to the very necks of the soldiers, surprised the sardinians, who little expected an attack, broke their cavalry almost in the first charge, and drove the enemy in inexpressible confusion and dismay towards Valenza. The king himself, escaping with only a few horsemen, could not collect his scattered forces till they had reached Casale; and the austrian general, discovering too late the design of the enemy, arrived only to behold the rout of his allies, and the bourbon troops commanding the banks of the Po. Taking a circuitous route through Casale, he rejoined the broken army, and saved it from utter ruin.

After a short delay, to complete the necessary preparations, the bourbon troops established themselves between the Tanaro and the Po, occupied the town of Alessandria, blockaded the citadel, and captured Valenza. Advancing to Casale, they found the town deserted at their approach, reduced the citadel, captured Asti with the same facility, and spread their parties over the country south of the Po.

The advance of the season precluding any further enterprise, part of the troops were quartered in the proper posts to secure the new conquests. Don Philip led the remainder into the Milanese, and entered the capital in triumph. The other towns vied in acknowledging the

Dec. 20.

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conqueror. The austrians were prevented from crossing the Tesino by the vigilance of Gages, and the duchy of Modena was restored to the sovereign. Of all the austrian possessions in Lombardy, little remained except the fortress of Mantua and the citadel of Milan; while the citadels of Asti, and Alessandria, the keys of Piemont, were expected to fall before the commencement of the ensuing campaign.*

On the return of the season for action, the struggle for the mastery of Italy was renewed, and the queen of Spain already saw in imagination the crown of Lombardy gracing the brow of her second son.

On the east the french and spanish armies had extended themselves as far as Reggio, Placentia, and Guastalla; on the north they were masters of the whole country between the Adda and Tesino; they blockaded the passages by the lake of Como and the Lago Maggiore, and were preparing to reduce the citadel of Milan; on the west their posts extended as far as Casale and Asti, though, of the last the citadel was still held by the sardinians. The main body of the french secured the communication with Genoa and the country south of the Po; a strong body at

* Buonamici War in Italy.—Memoires de Richelieu, t. 6, p. 337.—Muratori, anno 1745.—House of Austria, v. 2, c. 27.
—Official accounts, &c. in the periodical publications.

Reggio, Parma, and Placentia, covered their conquests on the east; and the spaniards commanded the district between the Po, and the mountains of Tyrol. The sardinians were collected into the neighbourhood of Trino; while the austrians fell back into the Novarrese to effect a junction with the reinforcements which were daily expected from Germany.

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Dec. 25, 1745.

In this situation, a sudden revolution took place in the fortune of the war. The empress queen, by the conclusion of a peace with Prussia, was at liberty to reinforce her army in Italy, and before the end of February, 30,000 men had already descended from the Trentine Alps, and spread themselves as far as the Po.

1746.

The intelligence of this accommodation with Prussia disconcerted the court of Versailles, and induced the king of France to make overtures to the king of Sardinia, who was dissatisfied with the court of Vienna for withholding the cessions in Lombardy, which were to be the price of his co-operation. Before the conclusion of the treaty with Prussia, Champeaux, french resident at Geneva, was secretly deputed to Turin, with proposals for an accommodation. France offered to settle the respective pretensions of Spain and the king of Sardinia by a partition of the Milanese: the king was to receive the country north

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of the Po, and west of the Scrivia; the remaining part of the duchy, with Parma, Placentia, and the Cremonese, including the strong fortress of Pizzighitone, was allotted to Don Philip. No part of Italy was ever to belong to France, Spain, or the emperor; consequently Tuscany was to pass to prince Charles of Lorraine, instead of his brother Francis, who was already destined to ascend the throne of the empire.

Charles Emanuel affected to be satisfied with this arrangement, and Champeaux, after returning to render an account of his mission, was again dispatched to Turin to conclude the preliminary articles of a treaty. As it was evidently the interest of the sardinian monarch to gain time, Champeaux was enjoined to remain at Turin only twenty-four hours, and not to consent to an armistice without the previous acceptance of the preliminaries. He was also to declare that the cessation of hostilities should not be publicly announced till an answer arrived from Spain; but was authorised to promise, that if the spanish court refused their assent, the french troops should be withdrawn, and particular orders given to Maillebois to abstain from hostilities against the sardinians.

The wily monarch, however, succeeded in amusing the court of Versailles with a captious


negotiation, and even procured the signature of an armistice, that means might be found to obtain the acquiescence of Spain.

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In this stage of the negotiation, a communication was made to the court of Madrid. But all the palliations which french plausibility could devise, were lost on the impetuous and indignant sovereigns, whose feelings were deeply wounded by this desertion of their son.

Their smothered resentment against France burst forth with redoubled fury. They treated this separate negotiation as a breach of confidence, and a departure from the principles of the bourbon alliance. Philip accused the french ministry of giving perfidious counsels to the king his nephew, and scornfully rejected what he called a proposal to relinquish the treaty of Fontainebleau, that treaty which was originally proposed by France herself. Was it sound policy, he asked, to reduce the establishment of the infant almost to nothing, in order to aggrandise the king of Sardinia, at the moment when he was reduced to the last extremity, separated from the austrians, and on the point of losing Alessandria? when an army of 80,000 men was giving law to Italy; when Austria was struggling in vain to defend her distant possessions? Even if this dishonourable treaty was concluded, it would not terminate the war, and another con-

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federacy must be formed; for by robbing the emperor of Tuscany, and by annihilating the feudal rights of the empire, the germanic body would be drawn into the contest. With her usual violence, the queen silenced the representations of the bishop of Rennes, the french ambassador: "France," she said, "treats us like children, she threatens us with the rod, if we do not comply with her demands."*

In conformity with these sentiments, the duke of Huescar, as ambassador extraordinary, was deputed to Versailles to assist the efforts of the regular minister, the marquis of Campo Florido, in breaking off the negotiation. At the same time counter overtures were made to the court of Vienna through the channels of sir Thomas Robinson, the british ambassador, and the marquis of Grimaldi, a genoise nobleman, to renew the former connection between Spain and Austria.†

The spanish court was still more highly exasperated by the fatal effects which flowed from this attempt to negotiate at the season for action. Indeed the king of Sardinia had listened to the overtures of France merely to extort the promised cessions from Austria, and gain time for the arrival of the german troops in Italy. He pro-

* *Memoires de Noailles*, t. 6, p. 162, 192.

† *Tindal*, v. 21, p. 273.

fit by the refusal of the spanish monarch to accept the preliminaries, scarcely listened to the modifications proposed by France, and after amusing the french agents with a short discussion till his army was ready to take the field, signified to Maillebois that the armistice was at an end.

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He instantly followed the communication by investing the body of 5,000 french troops who were employed in blockading the citadel of Asti. An express which conveyed the intelligence of their danger was intercepted; and Maillebois, lulled into security by the negotiation, considered the rupture of the armistice as a mere deception, till it was too late to relieve his troops. The parties scattered in the smaller posts being successively made prisoners, the sardinians advanced to relieve the citadel of Alessandria, which was reduced to the last extremity. They next captured the french garrison in the citadel of Asti; and laid siege to Valenza.

1746.


March 10.

April 19.

These disasters compelled Maillebois to abandon his distant posts, and concentrate his forces between Novi and Voghera, in order to maintain the communication with Genoa. Nor were the spaniards beyond the Po in a less critical situation. A column of 10,000 austrians under Berenclau having captured Codogno, and

B.B 2

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March 18.

advanced to Lodi, the spanish general was compelled to withdraw his troops from the passes towards the lakes, to send his artillery to Pavia, and draw towards the Po. The infant had scarcely quitted Milan before a party of austrian hussars entered the place.

The attention and exertions of the gallo-spaniards were soon called to another scene of action. In the latter end of March, a considerable force, collected under count Brown, directed their march in two columns on Luzara and Guastalla, cut off the garrison of 1,500 men, under Caraffa, at Guastalla, repulsed a detachment sent to the bridge of Boccanello to favour their retreat, and drove the troops at Reggio beyond the Euza. In consequence of these successes, the austrians enveloped a body of 8,000 men, stationed under Castelar at Parma, and advanced to the Taro, to prevent the army from hastening to their relief. The prince of Lichtenstein next established a chain of posts along the northern part of the Milanese, and then repairing to the Taro, assumed the chief command in the place of Schulemburg.

On the first notice of these movements, Gages hastened to transport his principal force to the south of the Po, established a bridge over the river, and took post at Placentia opposite to the

enemy. The distress of Castelar in Parma hourly increasing, an attempt was made to extricate him from his perilous situation. While Gages drew the attention of the austrians to the Taro, by a feint, as if he intended to force the passage; Castelar broke through the blockading posts, and directing his march towards the mountains of Pontremoli, gained the eastern Riviera, though with the loss of nearly half his force from the attacks of the austrian irregulars. Parma was instantly occupied by the enemy, and the few spaniards remaining in the citadel made prisoners of war.

Having thus facilitated the escape of Castelar, Gages fell back to the Nura, whither he was followed by the austrians. He skilfully profited by this movement to strike a blow which was calculated to check the ardour of the enemy, and draw their attention beyond the Po. At the moment of his retreat, he affected to break down his bridge at Placentia; but suddenly pushing a strong detachment across the river under Don Francisco Pignatelli, surprised and routed 5,000 austrians at Codogno with the loss of half their number, and collected great supplies of provisions. Master of both banks of the river, he endeavoured to secure his advantageous position by fortifying Placentia. He planted his numerous artillery on the walls, occupied the

May 5.

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seminary of St. Lazaro on the adjacent plain,* and established some smaller posts along the Trebbia and the Nura. He was, however, gradually obliged to relinquish his distant posts; to quit the seminary, and finally to withdraw from the banks of the Nura; but he endeavoured to balance this reverse by new and successful incursions beyond the Po, as far as Lodi.

The struggle of the hostile armies was not long confined to this petty warfare. In consequence of the loss of Valenza, which surrendered on the 2nd of May, the bourbon generals made a vigorous and united effort to arrest the progress of the enemy. Maillebois quitted his station between Tortona and Novi, and outstripping the king of Sardinia by a rapid march joined the spaniards on the Trebbia. They recalled the detachments beyond the Po, and arranged the plan of a grand attack in a council of war, at which the infant assisted. During the night, they traversed the Trebbia in three columns, each led by the respective generals. The left defiling through Placentia, occupied Gossolengo, drove in the austrian posts, and at the point of day attacked their lines; but found them well prepared for resistance, and in retreating, after a long and bloody conflict, suffered severely from

* This seminary was erected by Alberoni, who had here established his residence. See chapter 30.

the pursuit of their cavalry. The right likewise carried several outworks, and maintained a contest from dawn till evening, without making any effectual impression on the austrian lines. The center attack was frustrated by the ill success of those on the flanks. Five thousand men were left on the field, 2,000 made prisoners, and several pieces of artillery, with standards and other trophies, fell into the hands of the victors.*

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* Muratori, 1746.—Memoires de Richelieu, t. 6; ch. 28.—House of Austria, v. 2, ch. 23.

CHAPTER THE FORTY-SEVENTH.

1746.

Embassy of Noailles to Madrid—His account of the king and queen—Succeeds in appeasing their resentment against France—Temporary restoration of confidence—Philip's last appeal to Louis the fifteenth in favour of his family—Death of Philip—His testament and family—Retreat of his queen.

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IN the moment of this arduous struggle, important changes were approaching at the court of Madrid.

Too late undeceived in their hope of detaching the king of Sardinia, the french government redoubled their efforts to appease the resentment of Philip and his queen. Noailles was once more sent as ambassador to Madrid, to restore the former confidence, and induce them to desist from their demand of the Milanese for Don Philip, which the late reverses in Italy had rendered hopeless. His letters and dispatches afford a true picture of the court, and are more interesting because they exhibit Philip in a moment of temporary animation which proved the prelude to his dissolution.

April 20.

"I found," he said, "the king of Spain so changed that I should scarcely have recognised

him, had I seen him elsewhere than in his own palace. He is much more corpulent, and seems shorter, because he has great difficulty in keeping himself upright, and in walking, which arises from his total neglect of exercise. In regard to his understanding he is not altered. He displays good sense, and, whenever he will give himself the trouble to discourse of business, he answers with justness and precision. He has forgot nothing that he has done, seen, or read; and speaks of past transactions with much pleasure. He recollects every alley in the wood of Fontainebleau, where he was accustomed to shoot. He has great regard for your majesty, and speaks of you with tenderness and affection. All here concur in saying, that he is more affected with your successes in Flanders than with those of the infant in Italy. His heart is truly french.

“ The queen appears sensible and lively; she sees accurately, and answers justly. She unites politeness with dignity. I have not yet conversed with her enough to develope her character; but in general, I perceive that the portraits of her have been overcharged. She is a woman; she is ambitious; she has already been duped; and as she fears new deception, she carries her distrust too far. But in my opinion, a prudent and disinterested man might gain her confidence, and with patience bring

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her to reason. Such men are not easily found in any time or country.

“Whenever your majesty is mentioned, the queen always expresses herself in terms of great respect and sincere affection.

“The prince of Asturias, excepting his face, seems agreeable, and is desirous to please. He has frequently questioned me in a manner which shews the interest he takes in what concerns your majesty. The princess is more polite, appears sensible and obliging. Her countenance is too plain to be seen with pleasure; she is said to have had a fine shape, but she is now become corpulent.”*

When the ambassador ventured to touch on the war of Italy, and hinted at the delicate subject of such an establishment for the infant as was attainable in the present situation of affairs, the face of Philip glowed with resentment. “Are you going to tell me,” he asked, “that the treaty of Fontainebleau is, as it has already been called, the work of anger and ambition?”† It was necessary to defer the discussion, and suffer this momentary irritation to subside; and all the prudence and suavity of the ambassador were employed to procure a due attention to his

* “Son visage est tel qu’on ne peut la regarder sans peine.”——
Memoires de Noailles, t. 6, p. 365.

† Noailles, t. 6, p. 168.

proposals. Still, however the recollection of past grievances continually recurred. Philip inveighed against the french ministers and generals, and dwelt, in terms of grief and disappointment, on what the two crowns might have effected, had they acted in concert. He complained of being treated with disrespect, while he had omitted nothing to gratify France. "At your solicitation," he said, "I entered into the war of 1733. I declared war against England in 1739, relying on the promises of France to send a fleet into the american seas. After this, could I have expected what has happened in the secret negotiation of Turin?"*


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New motives, however, soon aggravated his displeasure. Louis the fifteenth entered into a secret negotiation with Holland, not only without the participation of the spanish court, but even without the knowledge of the ambassador. Apprised of the transaction by his minister at the Hague, Philip made inquiries relative to its progress, which Noailles was unable to answer. On the arrival of a courier from Holland, Philip said to him, "Well, sir, what partition is intended for the infant? If we may credit our agents, it is not very considerable." Noailles avowing his ignorance, he continued: "Since you are not informed, we are happy to have it in our power

* Noailles, t. 6, p. 176.

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to acquaint you with a new project of pacification presented by Wassenaar. Councils were held in the house of cardinal Tencin at Paris, on this subject, which were attended by the marquis of Argenson, marshal Belleisle and the dutch deputies; and after a long conference, the business was finally settled. I repeat, the establishment allotted to the infant is shamefully small."*

In spite of the difficulties which arrested his progress at every step, Noailles at length fulfilled the principal objects of his embassy. He calmed the resentment of the king and queen by promising that they should be acquainted with all future propositions to the king of Sardinia and Holland. He convinced them that France was unable to send reinforcements into Italy, and that it was necessary to confine their operations to a territory which they had strength sufficient to maintain. He even prevailed on them to relinquish their pretensions to Milan and Mantua on condition that those duchies should never be transferred to the king of Sardinia, and to consent to receive Parma and Placentia, or some equivalent for the infant. Lastly, he obtained those orders for the reunion of the bourbon armies which led to the battle of Placentia.

Philip once more resumed his affectionate

* Noailles, t. 6, p. 188.

style with the king his nephew, and delivered a memorial to the ambassador which is a lively expression of his last sentiments. CHAP. 47.
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After recapitulating his obligations to France, he vindicated the justice of the italian war, and his rights to the italian succession. He complained, though mildly, of the reproach of ambition which he had incurred from the french ministry. "I am willing," he said, "to desist from my claims on the Milanese and Mantua, which were secured to me by the treaty of Fontainebleau. I rely on the friendship of your majesty to procure an equivalent for Don Philip. My honour, as well as my affection for the queen, will never permit me to abandon that article, which secures to her for life the possession of Parma, her hereditary patrimony. I therefore propose that the crowns of Spain and France shall jointly furnish a subsidy to maintain the infant, till he has received a solid establishment. As the greatest proof of friendship for me, I request, that if Spain should not fulfil her engagements for this purpose, your majesty will supply her failure. In a word, I confide to your hands, as king of France, the fate of my queen, and my two sons, Don Carlos and Don Philip, as the dearest pledges which I can commit to your love and affection."*

* Noailles, t. 6, p. 150—193.

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July 9.

Philip, however, scarcely lived to bring this negotiation to a close. Although, since the removal of his residence from Seville, he had suffered no attack sufficiently long and severe to affect his intellects; yet he accelerated the ruin of his constitution by the indulgence of that indolence which accompanied his habitual melancholy, passing great part of his time in bed, or rising only during the night to take his repasts. After thus dragging on a miserable existence, a deplorable contrast of human wretchedness and regal splendour, he was struck with a sudden fit of apoplexy, and expired in the arms of the queen, his constant companion, before he could receive either medical or spiritual assistance.*

We have already exhibited the singular and inconsistent character of Philip in so many different lights, that little remains to add in closing our narrative of his reign. It would be difficult to select a period within the last two centuries, in which the interests and welfare of the nation were so frequently sacrificed to the private views, passions, and prejudices of the sovereigns. Yet, when we consider how frequently Philip was misled by his artful queen, and the ministers of her choice, it would be unjust to attribute to him alone the machinations and troubles which the restless court of Madrid excited in Europe, from

* Beccatini, p. 159.—Ortiz, t. 7, p. 528.



the period that he was left in tranquil possession of the throne. With regard, however, to the beneficial regulations which mark his reign, his eager desire of information, and the pleasure with which he invariably listened to projects of reform and details of improvement, prove that if he had not himself the talents to invent, he had at least the merit of approving and sanctioning the plans of others. To this solicitude, Spain owes many advantages. On his accession, the country was exhausted; without a marine or efficient army; without industry or manufactures; with scarcely a remnant of her antient power, wealth, and grandeur. He left an army which, though reduced by the italian war, had vindicated the national honour in many a well fought field, a marine which once more awakened the attention of Europe, and establishments which proved the revival of industry, trade, and the arts.

But even in this branch of government, we observe the same inconsistency, as in the other parts of his conduct. After the ministry of Alberoni, we no longer witness the same zeal and activity for internal amelioration. Few efficient measures were adopted to introduce into the general system of taxation, that improvement which Orri had effected in the mode of collection; or to prosecute the projects begun by Alberoni, for facilitating internal communications, and freeing

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trade and industry from the trammels imposed by interest and ignorance. On the contrary, the resources which might have been effectually applied to such beneficial purposes, were squandered in splendid, and too frequently, unprofitable enterprises. Indeed the general principle of his political economy, appears rather to have been an inveterate prejudice against England, than the rules of sound and liberal policy. Instead of calling into action the inexhaustible riches which nature has lavished on the peninsula, instead of establishing his plans of improvement on the extensive and stable basis of agriculture, he scorned to minister to the skill and industry of a less favoured climate, and hurried into a premature competition with the trade and marine of England, as dangerous in itself as it was contrary to the habits and prejudices, and incompatible with the situation of his subjects.

We quit, with pleasure, reflections partaking perhaps too much of a national bias, to speak of institutions on which we can bestow unqualified approbation. Besides various examples of liberality, piety, and benevolence, which it is needless to particularise, Spain owes to him some establishments truly national.

The royal library, founded in 1712, which is open to the public, and has gradually increased to an extent which may vie with similar institu-

tions in other countries. The academy for preserving the purity of the spanish language was founded in 1714, in imitation of that of France, and its labours may bear an honourable comparison with those of any similar society. The academy of San Fernando, for the improvement of sculpture and painting: and lastly, the academy of history, which owes its origin to a society of individuals, and was incorporated in 1738. Its object was to preserve and illustrate the historical monuments of the kingdom. The device is elegant and appropriate, being a fountain expanding into a river, with the motto, "*In patriam, populumque fluit.*"*

Philip added 45,000,000 piastres to the debts of his royal predecessors, a sum not large in itself, considering the extent and number of his enterprises, but too great for the limited resources of the monarchy.

Philip left several children. By his first wife, Maria Louisa, princess of Savoy.

Lotis, whose reign has already been described. Ferdinand, who succeeded his father.

By his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese.

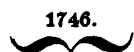
Charles, born in 1716; duke of Parma in 1741; king of the two Sicilies in 1735; and successor of his brother Ferdinand in 1759.

Philip, born 1720, espoused in 1739 Maria

* Bourgoign, v. 4, p. 242.—Laborde, v. 3, p. 104.

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Louisa, daughter of Louis the fifteenth; and in 1749 was proclaimed duke of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. He was a prince of weak understanding and profuse habits. Devoted to France, he abhorred every thing spanish, and affected even an ignorance of his native language. With a puerile fondness for shew, he exhausted his treasury, to imitate in the petty court of Parma, the magnificence of Madrid and Versailles. His death was singularly unfortunate. When his second daughter, Louisa Maria, was affianced to his nephew, Charles, prince of Asturias, he prepared to display his usual splendour at the ceremony, which was to be graced by the presence of his niece, the infanta, who was then on her journey to the court of her future husband, the archduke Leopold. In the midst of the anticipated joy, he was thrown from his horse in a hunting party, dragged in the stirrup till dead, and dreadfully lacerated by his own hounds.*

July 17, 1765.

Ferdinand, his son, succeeded in his dominions, and espoused Maria Amelia, fourth daughter of the emperor Francis, by Maria Theresa.

His eldest daughter, Elizabeth Maria, was the first wife of the emperor, Joseph the second: his second, Louisa Maria, espoused Charles, prince of Asturias, afterwards king of Spain.

* Beccatini, p. 230.

Louis Anthony, youngest son of Philip the fifth, was born in 1727. He was nominated cardinal, and appointed archbishop of Toledo and Seville, but afterwards renounced the ecclesiastical profession, and in 1776, with the consent of the king his brother, espoused Donna Maria Theresa Villabrigas y Rosas, countess of Torres Secas, a lady of one of the first families in Aragon. He died in 1786, leaving two children, a son and a daughter. The son is the present cardinal of Bourbon, and archbishop of Toledo, who was one of the regency at the resumption of the crown by Ferdinand the seventh, in 1814. The daughter espoused Don Manuel Godoy, so well known by the title of Prince of Peace.

By Elizabeth Farnese, Philip left also two daughters. Mary Anne Victoria, first betrothed to Louis the fifteenth, and afterwards married to Joseph, king of Portugal.

Maria Antonietta, born in 1729, and in 1750 married to Victor Amadeus, the second king of Sardinia.

By his testament, Philip secured to his queen an establishment superior to the usual dowry granted the widowed queens of Spain. He reserved to her an annual pension of 70,000 dollars, with his favourite palace of St. Ildefonso ;

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and in addition to other bequests, and the payment of her debts, allowed her the choice of any city of Spain for her residence. He intrusted his minor sons and daughters to her guardianship. He renewed also such of the arrangements made at the period of his renunciation, as were applicable to the present circumstances, and confirmed the new order of succession, which he had established in 1714.*

The queen had the satisfaction to witness the splendid establishments of her two sons; but if we except a few months at the commencement of the new reign, the twenty-one years which this restless and ambitious woman survived her husband, were passed without the smallest share in public transactions. During the reign of Ferdinand, she principally resided at St. Ildefonso; and though at the accession of her own son Charles, she held the regency till his arrival in Spain, and afterwards appeared at court; yet she was not permitted to assume any authority. In 1766, her death was no otherwise known to Europe, than by the usual notification.

An intelligent traveller thus describes her in the decline of life. "Though she is now seventy years of age, she keeps the same hours that Philip did, and turns night into day. When she

* Testament of Philip V, MS.

gives audience, she is held by two supporters, being unable to stand long ; and though almost blind, retains her ancient spirit and vivacity."*

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* Clarke's Letters concerning the spanish nation, p. 329.

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